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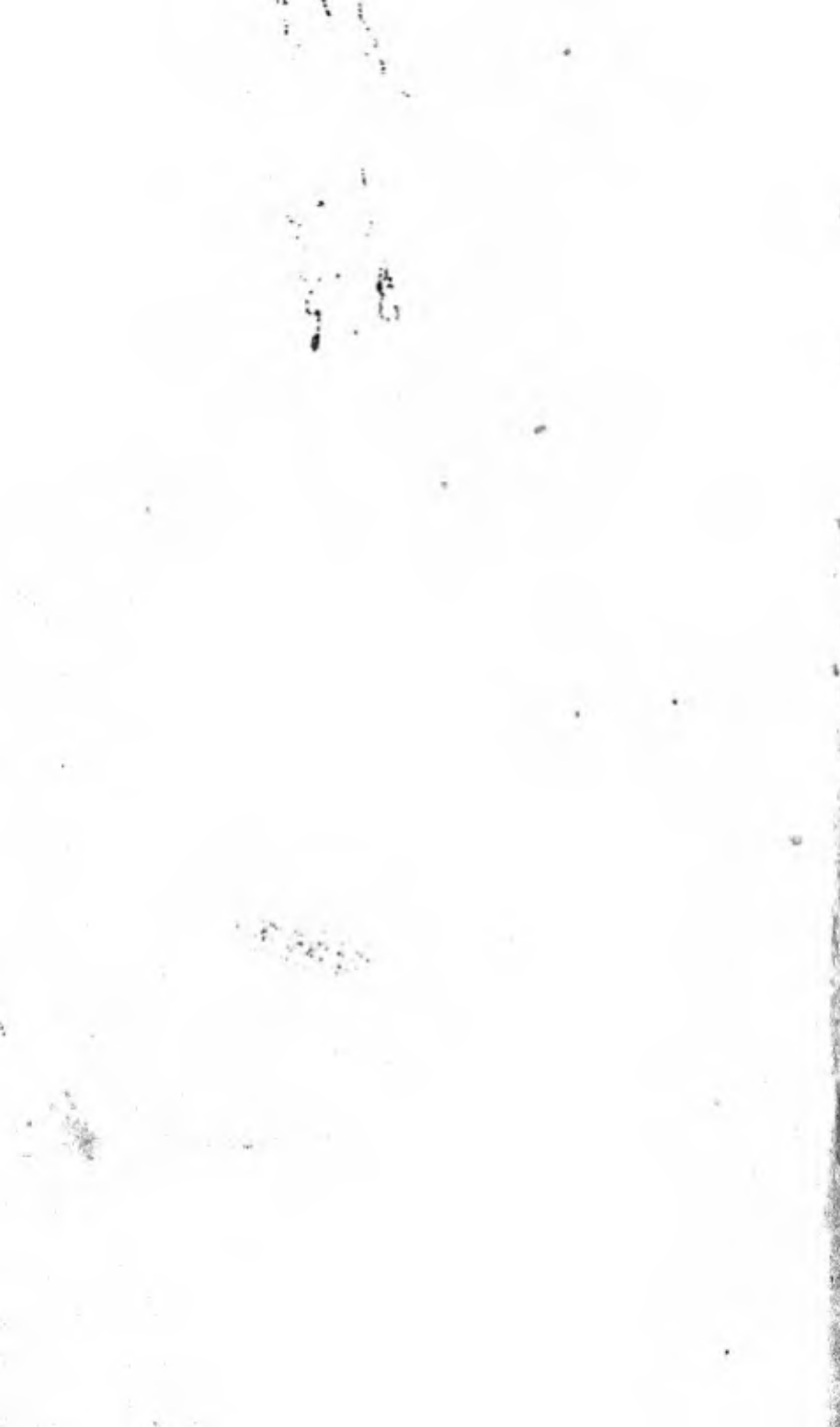
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Vol. II

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MEMOIRS OF

DELHI AND FAIZÁBÁD,

BEING A TRANSLATION OF THE "TÁRÍKH FARAHBAKHSHI"
 OF MUHAMMAD FAIZ BAKHSII, FROM THE
 ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

14894

BY

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MEMOIRS OF FAIZÁBÁD.

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MEMOIRS OF FAIZÁBÁD.

ALTHOUGH various historians, living and dead, have written histories of various kings and emperors, and Mír Ghulám 'Ali

Introductory.

of Bilgrám, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Ázád, Saiyad Ghulám 'Ali Khán of Ráe Bareli, Mr. Ward, and other good authorities, have written special histories in full detail of the time of Muhammad Sháh; the rise of Sa'ádat Khán, Nishápurí; the official career of Qamaru'ddín Khán; the establishment of the rule of Nizámu'lmuik Chín Qulj Khán in the Dakhín provinces; the subsequent decay of the empire which began in the fifth year of Ahmad Sháh's reign; the murder of Jáwed Khán by Nawáb Safdar Jang; the civil war which raged for nine months between the latter and 'Imádu'lmuik. Gházíu'ddín Khán; the six years after the accession of 'Álamgír Sáni, which followed on the captivity of Ahmad Sháh; and the revolt of Sháh 'Álam 'Ali Gauhar, yet none of these writers witnessed the events which occurred at Faizábád after Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, and so they have not treated this subject.

Ghulám 'Ali Khán came with the English Collector of Gorakhpur to visit Faizábád. One day, when they were in the Guláb Bári, the Collector asked Ghulám 'Ali Khán to tell him all about the foundation of the city, the date of the Guláb Bári and Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah's cenotaph. As the Khán had written at Colonel Baillie's request a history of Nawáb Burhánu'lmuik and his descendants, and of other nobles of Hindústán, the Collector was sure that, as he was so fond of research, he would certainly know all about this city. The Khán promptly sent me a letter and made inquiries. I sent him

a reply giving him the required information. From that day I was impressed with the conviction that I should write the Memoirs of Faizábád.

I have in the former volume of this work written a concise account of the Mughal Emperors up to the time of Sháhjahán: then I have sketched the early years of 'Álamgír Aurangzeb in great detail, and the closing years of his life briefly, and I have depicted the revolutions and the bloodshed of the sixteen years which elapsed from the accession of Mu'azzam Bahádur Sháh in 1118 A.H. [1707 A.D.] to the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Sháh in 1133 A.H.* [1720 A.D.], which surpass anything ever heard before, especially the plots of Nawáb Nuşrat Jang Zu'lfakár Khán, who in nine days caused three princes to fight each other to the death, and perished himself after eight months: I have told of the arrival of Farrukhsiyar on the scene with the assistance of the Saiyads, and the estrangement which ensued between him and them within a few months of his elevation to the throne, an occurrence which is almost without a parallel: and I have done so because there are, I believe, some lessons which my readers may learn from the records of these events.

I now turn to write the Memoirs of Faizábád.

They say that when Nawáb Burhánulmulk was appointed to the governorship of the Oudh Súbah by the Emperor, he pitched his tent and court on the top of an eminence on the banks of the Ghágra, four miles to the west of the homestead of the Haveli

Beginning of the history of Faizábád, from the appointment of Nawáb Burhánulmulk Sa'adat Khán, Nishápurí, to the Súbahdári of Oudh.

* There is a mistake here. See p. 246, Vol. I.

Kháṣṣ.* After a few days he constructed a *bangla*, that is, a wooden hut with a thatched roof, in which to pass the rainy season. Round it he raised a mud wall on all four sides, with a bastion on each corner like a fort. He made the enclosure so long and so wide as to leave plenty of room for cavalry, infantry, and artillery, stables, and other establishments. As he had no special fancy for masonry, his female quarters were also built of mud. When he had any leisure from tours of inspection of estates and districts, and from revenue settlement, he spent it in that wooden hut. Hence his place of residence was called 'Bangla.' After his death it came in the time of Šafdar Jang to be called Faizábád. Round about this enclosure some Mughal chiefs laid out gardens and used to come out to them for airing and amusement: but Dīwán Atmá Rám's sons laid out a long bázár or market with rows of shops outside the enclosure on the west side, near the gate known as Dihli Darwáza,† and erected residential buildings. Outside the enclosure Isma'íl Kḥán Risáldár also built another open bázár and a market-place, which he named after himself. In the same way odd houses sprang up irregularly here and there belonging to tradespeople. Inside the fortified enclosure there were also houses built by eunuchs and cavalry officers of every rank.

After Nawáb Šafdar Jang's death all was spoiled and ruined. Shujá'u'ddaulah made Lucknow his permanent residence; but when he went on tour every year, he used to spend one or two nights here and go

* Haveli Kháṣṣ here means Haveli Awadh.

† Delhi Gate.

on to Gorakhpur and Banáras, until he engaged the English army in 1178 A.H. [1764 A.D.]. On that occasion, owing to the faithlessness of some of his officers, who were secretly in correspondence with the Company's servants and favoured them, and to the inaction of Rájá Beni Bahádur, who with 10,000 horse at the critical moment stood aloof and looked on, he turned at the advice of his brother Sálár Jang and others, as circumstances compelled him, from the field, hurried to Faizábád, took all necessaries which were in the fort, loaded them on conveyances, and after one day's march entered Lucknow. Here he rested, as he had done at Faizábád, for one night, collected his cash and valuables, and carried them off with him to Bareli. After nine months had passed he met the English and a friendly peace was concluded. Five annas in the rupee of the revenue were assigned to the English. Again the diverted stream returned to the desired channel.

When Shujá'u'ddaulah was at Bareli, and subsequently when he was at Farrukhabád, when he met Nawáb 'Imádu'lmuik and Ahmad Khán Afghán Bangash, as he did by chance, the latter advised him in a friendly way, if he now recovered the government of the province, not to trust the Mughals, but to make use of his own dependants and eunuchs and to make Faizábád his capital. So, in 1179 A.H. [1765 A.D.], when he returned to his dominions, he went to Faizábád and made it his residence. He began to recruit cavalry and infantry, to organize artillery and procure English muskets, and to erect good buildings. He built anew, on a grander scale, the walls of Burhánu'lmuik's old citadel and razed the houses of the Mughals. He ordered some

of his private retainers to build houses for themselves outside the enclosure. A vast plain extending for more than two miles on each side of the fort was reserved; and round it was dug a deep trench. In the middle of this plain all his retainers and military officers built themselves residences and outoffices as spacious as they desired. Night and day crowds after crowds of men, soldiers, civilians, and traders of every race, kept coming here, so that the space, great as it was, became too confined for the residents, and each tried to find a place before the other. After some years, in addition to the enclosing wall of the fort, there were two other large walls constructed by way of city defences: one enclosed on three sides a great area, two miles long by two miles broad, on the east, west, and south: the other was between the fort and the outer wall and a mile long. In the same year were built the Tirpauliya, which is situated in the Chauk, and the Chauk Bázár running from the south gate of the fort to the Allahábád turnpike, so broad that nearly ten bullock carriages can easily run abreast in it. The city walls are not less than ten yards thick in the middle, and the top of the breastworks cannot be less than five. Most of the troops—regulars, who dressed in red coats, and the irregulars, who dressed in black—were posted night and day on the top of the walls. In the rains the tops of the walls were protected from the falling rain by thatches, and these thatches were removed during dry weather through fear of their catching fire in the hot and fierce wind. Certainly for these two breastworks nearly 100,000 thatches were prepared every year.

There were two hunting parks. One was on the west, extending from Gurji Beg Khán's Masjid to the

Guptár Ghát, a very long distance. On two sides were raised mud walls, and on the third side it was enclosed by the river Ghágra. In it wild animals of the chase, such as spotted deer, white-footed antelope, black buck, and the like, were let loose. The other was on the east, beginning with mauza' Janaura and Chháoni Gosháin and running to the river's edge, a distance of six miles. In it were included eleven villages and their lands. But it remained uncompleted, and it never reached the stage of stocking with wild animals.

There are three gardens within the city, splendid and worthy the visits of nobles and princes. One is Angúrí Bágh, within the fort, occupying one-fourth of the whole area of the enclosure. The second is Motí Bágh, situated in the very heart of the Chauk Bázár. The third is the La'l Bágh, larger in length and breadth than all the others. It was laid out with famous and charming flower beds. It was so well known in the province that everyone who could go loved to walk in it in the evening, and young people used to go there in crowds after crowds, and it was so attractive that, when the Emperor Sháh 'Álam came from Allahábád, he resided in it for a time. A fourth, the Ásaf Bágh, and a fifth, the Buland Bágh, are on the Lucknow side in the outskirts of the city but within the walls.

The Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah used to ride out every morning and evening to inspect the city. Navvies with picks and spades followed. Wherever he noticed any ground or house uneven, or found a shopkeeper had extended the terrace in front of his shop even a span or two beyond his shop, he levelled the offending ground and put back the projecting house.

The chief officers of the Nawáb's cavalry were Nawáb Murtazá Khán Baríj and the two Gosháins, Himmat Bahádur and Amráogír, who each had under him more men than all the others put together, and Shekh Ahsán Kamboí, Gurji Beg Khán, Gopál Ráo Marhata, and Saiyad Jamálu'ddín Khán Nawáb, son-in-law of Mír Jumla, who had an appointment under the Emperor, and Bakhsbi Abu'lbarakát Khán Muzaffaru'ddaulah Tahawwar Jang, a native of Kákori, and Muhammad Mu'azzu'ddín Khán, a Shekhzáda of Lucknow, and others. None of the least of them had less than 1,000 or 500 horsemen with him. Besides these there were eunuchs and their novices, private slaves; Basant 'Ali Khán, commander of two divisions comprising 14,000 regulars who wore red coats; Basant the second, who commanded one thousand irregular lancers and one line regiment of infantry; Ambar 'Ali Khán, who led five hundred horse and one infantry regiment of the line, which wore a black uniform; Mahbúb 'Ali Khán, who commanded five hundred horse and four infantry regiments; Latáfat 'Ali Khán, who had the same; Raghunáth Singh and Parshád Singh, each of whom held command of three hundred cavalry and four foot regiments; Maqbúl 'Ali Khán, the first and the second, and Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, who each had five hundred Mughal irregular cavalry and infantry. The artillery passes reckoning.

In this way he had 30,000 foot, regulars in red coats, and 40,000 irregulars in black uniform. Of all this force the chief commander was Saiyad Ahmad, known as Bánsiwála. The English flintlocks were nothing to their matchlocks for quickness in loading and rapidity of firing. He had also 22,000 messengers and spies who

brought tidings every seventh day from Punah in the Dakhin and on every fifteenth day from Kábul. And there were round him agents of the Marhatas, and of Nizám 'Ali Khán, son of Nizámu'lmulk Dakhini, and of Zábíta Khán, and of Nawáb Zu'lfaqáru'ddaulah Najaf Khán, with great retinues; and Mír Na'im Khán with hordes of Šábitkhánis, Bundelas, Chandelas, and Mewá-tis. Muhammad Bashír Khán with his horse and foot occupied the city wall, and they had comfortable residences, offices, and lines there. When the largest enclosing wall began to prove too confined, Saiyad Jamál-n'ddín Khán and Gopál Ráo Marhata left the city, went out to the west to Naurábi, and lived there. Nawáb Murtazá Khán Barij, Mír Ahmad Bánsiwálá, Mír Abu, and Shekh Ahsán lived in tents between Awadh (Ajudhiya) and Faizábád.

Owing to the crowds of people inside the city it was difficult to move along the road, especially in the Chauk Bázár. The variety of goods and commodities was innumerable. The merchants of Persia, Túrán, China, and Europe used to resort to this city with costly wares and reap a profit in various ways. Two hundred Frenchmen, such as Monsieur Gentil, Monsieur Sonson, and Monsieur Pedrose,* and others, were servants and friends of this Government and were employed in training the foot regiments, and in founding cannon and manufacturing implements of war in the arsenal.

I, the writer, remember when I first left my native place and came to Mumtáznagar, which is four miles distant from the city gate on the west. There were exposed for sale under a tree sweetmeats, water, cooked

* I have been unable to verify these names.

food, roasts, spiced meats, water-biscuits and butter-cakes, and so on, and equally plentiful were fancy confectionary and delicious drinks, and there were crowds of travellers trampling on each other in their eagerness to buy. I fancied that this must be the Chauk Bázár. Some one told me-I had not yet entered the city gate. At last, when I did enter the city, I beheld dancing and shows everywhere, which quite bewildered me. From sunrise to sunset and from sunset to sunrise the noise of the drums and kettle-drums of the regiments never ceased, and the sounds of the gongs which told the hours and the watches deafened the ears. In the same way the horses, elephants, camels, mules, hunting dogs, draught-bullocks, bullock-coaches, and gun-carriages were beyond calculation. Well-dressed picked young men, the sons of nobles of Delhi, physicians of the Greek school, singers and dancers of both sexes and of every land, were in the enjoyment of large salaries. The pockets of all, high and low, were crammed as full as they could be with gold and with silver, and no one as much as dreamed of poverty and distress. As the Nawáb Wazír was bent upon the prosperity and growth of the city, it seemed as if Faizábád should soon rival Delhi. As there was no potentate in any country living in such splendid style as he, and as people here saw wealth, rank, and lavish diffusion of money in every street and market, artisans and scholars flocked hither from Dháka, Bengál, Gujrát, Málwab, Haidarábád, Sháh-jahánábád, Láhaur, Pesháwar, Kábul, Kashmír, and Multán. Had the Nawáb Wazír but lived for ten or twelve years more, there would have grown up another Sháh-jahánábád or Delhi. In the nine years, of which he spent a few months each rainy season in the city and the

other two seasons of the year in tours and hunting excursions, this densely-populated city sprang up, a vast multitude passed their lives in tranquillity and ease under the shadow of his splendour. As he was naturally fond of the society of women, dancing-women and others of a similar class were so numerous that not a street or ward was to be seen where they were not to be found; and they were so well off for money that most of the superior women had two or three tents each. At the time of a march their tents went on ahead with the Nawáb's tents, and they had ten or twelve armed attendants each. Hence the cavalry and infantry used openly to pursue the same course as their master, without fear of check.

Fate mingled disappointment with success. In the beginning of 1187 A.H. [1773 A.D.], on the 5th of Sha'bán, he marched from Faizábád to Lucknow, and thence moved towards Itáwah, which was in the possession of the Marhatas. He easily snatched the district and fort from their hands. He placed cavalry and infantry in charge, and he despatched Mír Na'ím Khán, who had command of 30,000 men, to Bundelkhand. He himself entered the domains of Ahmad Khán Bangash with a large army and encamped at Kauriaganj and Kásganj, and wrote a letter to Háfiz Rahmat Khán Ruhela to the following effect and sent it to him: "Last year I paid a krór of rupees, half supplied by you and half by me, to Maháji Síndia Marhata, who had captured the whole of your country within the Duáb, and thus redeeming your territories from his hands, I restored them to you. You must now make arrangements and

Shujá'u'd dā'ulāh's
expedition to Itáwah,
and thence against
Háfiz Rahmat Khán.

"send me fifty laks of rupees." Háfiz Rahmat Khán gathered all his brothers together and told them: "The Nawáb Wazír has come with an army numerous as ants or locusts to snatch the morsel of bread which belongs to us. He is seeking a pretext for a quarrel. I can provide twenty laks of rupees. You must produce thirty laks." They, as they were foolish, proud, and haughty, talked too big and spoke unadvisedly, saying: "Shujá'u'ddaulah has effeminate, dissolute soldiers with him: what do they know of battle that they should face us? As for the English whom he has with him as allies and supporters—we shall fall on them sword in hand, give them no time to discharge musket and cannon, but kill them off at one rush." Háfiz Rahmat Khán replied: "You will be able to do nothing. But I shall not fly from Shujá'u'ddaulah. I shall fall. Afterwards defeat and disaster will overtake each of you." Being helpless, he at last wrote an answer to the Nawáb Wazír's letter, expressing his inability to pay the money and his readiness to fight. On the 13th of Šafar 1188 A.H. [1774 A.D.], an engagement took place at Iláhi Katrá. From dawn to one watch of day a desperate battle raged. Háfiz Rahmat Khán fell as he had foretold, and all the clan were confounded and fled. Shujá'u'ddaulah halted his troops for the rains near the town of Basauli. It would take volumes to contain a description of the splendour of his cantonment, which was of the utmost degree.

To be brief: in the very heaviest part of the rains he set out for La'l Dáng, at the foot of the hills, where all the Ruhelas had taken refuge, to expel Faizullah Khán, the elder son of 'Ali Muhammad Khán. He assigned territory yielding fifteen laks of rupees for

Shujá'u'ddaulah's
death.

his necessary expenses and gave him permission to keep 3,000 horse and foot. On the 5th of Sha'bán of that year 1188 A.H. [1774 A.D.], he left that country and returned to Lucknow. Here he spent the whole of the month of Ramzán; left on the 8th Shawwál and reached Faizábád on the 12th. An hour after sunset on Thursday, the 23rd of Zíqá'd, he died.

When the Nawáb 'Aliya Sadaru'n-nisa Begam, Shujá'-u'ddaulah's mother, and the Jináb 'Aliya Muta'áliya, his wife, were alone together after his death, the Nawáb 'Aliya advised the Jináb 'Aliya, saying: "Your son Ásaf-u'ddaulah is now twenty-six years old, but up to this time he has devoted himself to amusements unbecoming and inconsistent with his position, and he has neither manners, presence, nor knowledge of business, and he is absolutely incapable of supervising or comprehending administration: it is not unlikely that all the wealth your husband has acquired will in a short time be dissipated. It is advisable to place him nominally in the chair of state and to appoint Mírza Sa'ádat 'Ali, who is acute and intelligent, as his minister." The Jináb 'Aliya replied: "I have had but the one son in my whole life; bad or good, he is my sole treasure. In your eyes all sons of Shujá'-u'ddaulah are equal." The old lady answered: "I have merely told you what I felt to be right and what seemed best in my opinion. You can do as you please. It is your affair, and you are responsible."*

As soon as Shujá'-u'ddaulah's bier passed out of the porch, they placed Ásafu'ddaulah on the cushion of

* Shujá'-u'ddaulah's mother is hereafter to be known as the Nawáb Begam and his widow as the Bahu Begam, improperly spelt sometimes Bow Begam.

state. All the officers of the army and the eunuchs, some divested of their clothes and others dressed as they were, sat in mourning over their deceased master's grave in the Guláb Bári. After seven days had passed, on the eighth day, when the ceremony of 'diham' had been performed, Āsafu'ddaulah summoned them all, small and great, and gave them robes of honour and assurances of his favour.

It must here be premised that Saiyad Muṣṭafawī Khán, one of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh's officers, was appointed by the Emperor on Nawáb Burhánu'l-mulk's staff and came and settled in Awadh with his family and kindred. He enjoyed the greatest friendship with that Nawáb and lived there in great style. After Burhánu'l-mulk's death he said something disrespectful of Shujá'u'ddaulah's mother in Šafdar Jang's lifetime, and the words he used gradually came to her ears and turned her against him. But, as the Delhi government was supreme and he had a connection with the Emperor, she said nothing then and treasured up his words in her heart. After Muhammad Sháh's death, the capture of Ahmad Sháh, and Nawáb Šafdar Jang's death, when Shujá'u'ddaulah succeeded to the Oudh government and even when Muṣṭafawī Khán had died, the Nawáb Begam and Shujá'u'ddaulah expelled his sons from the Sábah. They went to Bengál and through Hakím Zainu'l'ábdín Khán obtained service under Nawáb Qásim 'Alī Khán. After Qásim 'Alī Khán's fall and ruin they returned to the Súbah of Oudh and lived in poverty, almost starvation, for a while at Lucknow and then at Mohán, until

one of them obtained employment under the government through Mír Siddiq, one of Āsafu'ddaulah's companions. One day Āsafu'ddaulah brought him to pay court to Shujá'u'ddaulah. The Nawáb Wazír was greatly enraged at the conduct of his son for bringing this man into his presence. There was no further inquiry, either as to his means or as to what employment he had.

The author of these pages was himself an eye-witness of the following occurrence which took place when Shujá'u'ddaulah was returning from Kāṭahar and had arrived at Anwla. On the day that he marched for Lucknow there was a bridge over a stream in the road, and there were crowded here men on horseback and on foot, elephants, horses, and other animals, camp-followers and baggage, beyond reckoning; and the crush was so great that if any one on horseback wished to turn his horse and go back, it was impossible. Shujá'u'ddaulah himself, who rode on an elephant, was standing up in his howdah, superintending the crossing of the Begam and after that the passage of the conveyances of his lesser wives. At this moment up came Āsafu'ddaulah in great disorder on an elephant with Murtazá Khán sitting by his side in the howdah, and he was utterly regardless of the many people, carriages, and ponies, which were being crushed under his elephant's feet. The author happened likewise to be in a howdah on an elephant with Jawáhir 'Alī Khán and was standing up. Āsafu'ddaulah wanted his elephant to go on its knees and make a salute. There was not room for this. After a moment or two he came slowly up to his father's elephant and saluted him. The Nawáb Wazír's eyes suddenly fell on Murtazá Khán. He looked at him fiercely and drew his hand across his moustache. As

this was the second occurrence of the kind, Murtazá Khán was overwhelmed with fear. 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, was sitting on a horse in front of the Nawáb's elephant. Murtazá Khán was looking at him and drawing his hand to his head to salute him. 'Ambar 'Ali Khán turned his head away. The author looked for a moment at some one else, and when he turned again Murtazá Khán was not to be seen in the howdah. It is impossible to say, was this the result of fear or of some hint from the Nawáb.

Asafu'ddaulah, when he succeeded to the government, conferred on Murtazá Khán a magnificent robe, marking his appointment as náib,* and gave him a fringed palankeen, an elephant, and a covered howdah of silver, and other tokens of distinction, such as the armorial bearings of the Fish and Scales, which are conferred by the imperial government on Haft-Hazáris only. The Nawáb Begam, who had not yet left her place of mourning, heard this from her eunuchs and was highly incensed. She ordered Muharram 'Ali Khán, her steward, to go at once and take all these things from Murtazá Khán, and she sent for Asafu'ddaulah and blurted out violently all that she had in her heart. Muharram 'Ali Khán went as directed, and, after a short time, Asafu'ddaulah came out of the harem and countermanded Muharram 'Ali Khán, who took no further steps because Asafu'ddaulah was now the master of the situation. He returned to the Nawáb Begam and announced that he had put the elephant back in its stall and the palankeen in the shed. On account of these proceedings Murtazá Khán

* Henceforth I shall call the náib, or deputy of the Nawáb Wazír, his minister. The office generally vested in one person, but occasionally was shared by two.

advised Asafu'ddaulah to march out and pitch his camp at Mahndi Ghât and remain there for some days, so that all might be awed by his independence. His real object was that by removing him from Faizâbâd, he might do what he liked with him. On the 11th they left Faizâbâd for Lucknow.

Asafu'ddaulah's features bore a general resemblance to his father's. The upper part of his body was rather long, but the lower part from his waist down was very short. While he was sitting he seemed to be a young man of tall stature, but when he stood up his head only reached the waists of those around him. From his childhood he was obese; his fat ears, neck, and double chin were one fleshy mass. His fingers and palms were short and plump. From his boyhood he was addicted to frivolities and his natural inclinations and attachments were for low, ill-born, and base-minded associates. He used to laugh unseasonably, fling derisive abuse at others and desire derisive abuse in return from them. He delighted in meaningless amusements and was immensely pleased with anyone who indulged in filthy language; and the more obscene the conversation was in any company, the more he was pleased.

When they set him to learn, teachers, tutors, and professors of the art of caligraphy* were procured. Saiyad Sharfu'ddîn Khân, who had been trained in the court of Muhammad Shâh, a polished and wise man in his day, was appointed to teach him deportment. The Saiyad's son, when he was with me one day, told me that

* Beautiful penmanship is a fine art in the East and an accomplishment worthy of princes.

the gardeners of the family used every day to bring the fruits which were in season and present them in baskets. The tutor on one occasion told the youngster to take what fruits he pleased. Although there were attendants present, he jumped up himself and took up a raw sweet-potato, which he held in his hand and played with for a while. The tutor said to him: "My child, noble people do not care for these worthless things, which are both shapeless and tasteless. Throw it away." Although he was urgently pressed, he would not let it go, until at last the tutor snatched it from him by force and flung it away, and told the gardeners not to bring sweet-potatoes, plantains, or radishes in their baskets any more. So it went on until he reached puberty. Although he learned his alphabet, pastimes had a greater attraction for him than study. His father used sometimes to send for him and examine him, but he knew that the boy's natural tastes and bent were for things unbecoming the son of a noble. He greatly regretted this, but, as the Begam was supreme with him, he said nothing on the subject until the boy's tutors were dismissed and his beard and moustache began to appear. He then selected well-mannered companions for him, who were always to be in attendance on him. They were to restrain him from using bad language and converse with him night and day about the principles of territorial administration, the organization of an army, swordsmanship, bravery, charity, justice and courts of law, humanity, modesty, archery, the use of firearms, and other occupations or characteristics of the great, and thus endeavour to mould his character. When he had passed the first stage of his life in this way, all that he had added to his one natural good quality of generosity was skill in archery. On the other hand,

he had developed such rudeness and insensibility to friendship that, though he might have the warmest affection for a friend and be uneasy without his society, yet, the moment that friend opposed him in the smallest trifle, or advised him to do anything against his inclination, he grew so infuriated that he dropped his acquaintance and drove him from his presence.

When the time for his marriage came round, his father, the Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah, invited the Nawáb Sholápurí Begam, wife of Qamaru'ddín Khán Wazíru'l-mamálík, from Sháhjahánábád, and celebrated his son's marriage with the daughter of Intizámu'ddaulah, the Begam's second son, with great pomp and ceremony. Several laks of rupees were expended on this occasion, but the union was never consummated. He never exhibited desire for her society and never even slept with her. On this account his father and mother were much disappointed, and they endeavoured, but in vain, to excite his passion.* He fancied that, if he disregarded his parents, he might freely do what he pleased. His father found out the truth from creatures and eunuchs who had been placed round him, and he menaced him with threats. He imprisoned for life some of his associates who were men of bad character, and threw some low blockheads into the river at night. For all this his son would not abandon his vicious courses.

I have now come to the subject of the growth and the decay of Faizábád. When the Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah recovered his territories, forty laks were assessed as a present to the Company when he was restored, and, as he had been absent

* I omit the details of the original.

for nine months, his treasury was empty. On making a promise to pay this sum in a few months, he returned from Banáras to Faizábád and began to arrange for payment. He asked his trustworthy servants to advance half of the money they possessed, and said that he hoped they would realize double after the country had been reduced to order. When the Nawáb Begam heard this, she presented him all at once with twenty laks of rupees which she had in her private purse. He was pleased beyond measure and he learned to repose complete trust in her. He knew that she had placed all she had at his disposal in this strait, and he determined from that time forward not only to repay this sum but to hand over to her all that remained after meeting the charges of government. It was accordingly arranged that he should himself examine the daily balance-sheet in Díwán Súrat Singh's hands, and an order was given to Ilach Khán and Muhammad Bashír Khán to realize the balances of the revenue instalments from the district officers and collectors or their agents, and to deposit the money daily in the Nawáb's private house until he returned home at midday from his inspection of the city and its neighbourhood. He warned them not to be dilatory. These two officials gathered the money in by every means they could, and each piled his collections in a separate heap in the bárahdari* to show his zeal. The Nawáb Wazír used to examine the money every day on his return home, and order that half should be handed over to the Nawáb Begam, a fourth be deposited with Tapar Chand, the Treasurer, and the remaining fourth be kept there, not exceeding 50,000 rupees in each corner of the bárahdari. This was his regular practice.

* A large apartment with twelve doors generally placed as a hall or vestibule in a house, or as a larger room in a garden.

After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, when Ásafu'ddaulah was about to march out to Mahndi Ghát, he applied, at the instigation of Murtazá Khán, to the Bahu Begam, his mother, for expenses for this excursion. She directed him to call up the Díwán and inspect the accounts and to apply to the Treasurer, who was Tapar Chand. The Bahu Begam's brother, Nawáb Sálár Jang, was the medium of communication in this matter. To him she said: "Ten days have not yet passed since your father's death, and I am in mourning; what a want of respect and how inopportune is this request! Have you not time to shed a tear?" The Nawáb Begam said to her: "This is the first return for your love: sweeter recompenses yet you will taste for your care." To be brief: after communications extending over two or three days, he got six laks of rupees and went to Mahndi Ghát: and this was the first breach which occurred between the mother and her son. As these six laks were spent within one month in maintaining a retinue numerous as ants, and on private uses, and in rewards and presents and profligacies, and he had not yet vouchsafed to examine the receipts of his realm or to demand revenue from collectors, he sent Murtazá Khán, who was now known as Mukhtáru'ddaulah, to Faizábád once more, after the tenth of Muharram, to the Bahu Begam, saying that this small sum had been spent, and that he wanted as much more. She was excessively displeased and negotiations continued again for some days through Mírza 'Ali Khán. Four laks of rupees were granted. As soon as Mírza 'Ali arrived, Ásafu'ddaulah, not being satisfied with this amount, hurried by post to Faizábád and applied for more as a loan: nay more, he wrote a sanad bearing his seal to Nauroz 'Ali Khán, chief police

officer of Akbarpur-Dostpur, directing him to make over certain maháls, Aldemau, &c., out of his district to the agents of the Bahu Begam, and that they should be left in her possession until four laks of rupees had been realized by her. This sanad is still in the author's possession. He also wrote another, in which he said that he would never again make any demand on his mother.

What a change I saw when Ásafu'ddaulah returned on this occasion to Faizábád. In the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah no one dared to go about armed even with a pen-knife, and all who came to see him passed on foot within the armorial* gate, which was the second inside the fort, and I had never seen an exception even among the courtiers, the highest military officers and the eunuchs, who came even specially on business with Shujá'u'ddaulah. But now naked rustics, whose fathers and brothers were with their own hands guiding the plough, were enrolled in the regiments as regulars and rode about as Ásafu'ddaulah's orderlies and were allowed to go in and out of the bárahdari, the Nawáb's own court, riding on horseback : and round the Nawáb Wazír's palankeen there rode in disorderly fashion, on state horses with grand caparisons, Bhawáni Singh, Motí Singh, Hulás Singh, Nawáz Singh, and Maiku Singh. Such was the change within two months ! But people still believed that, when Ásafu'ddaulah returned to Faizábád, he would continue to reside there as his father had done. About this time Jawáhir 'Ali Khán rebuilt his house with burnt bricks. It had before been made of mud. The ta'ziadári† was observed by the Nawáb Wazír in Faizábád on

* Naqqárkhána is a gallery over a gate where drummers sit and announce hours and approaches of visitors and the like. It generally bears a heraldic design.

† Mourning celebration for Hasan and Husen.

the tenth of Mubarram, and all his buildings were duly furnished and maintained in repair as usual. He spent four or five months on the banks of the Ghágra in the sand and dust without any reason, and he did not evince the slightest inclination to undertake the discipline of troops or civil administration, to know the leading military officers or inspect the manoeuvres of the regiments, to examine the ammunition and equipments of the artillery or hear the items of intelligence in reports. In all these duties Shujá'u'ddaulah had been unremittingly employed. Mukhtáru'ddaulah was slowly and gradually achieving the ruin of the army, the transfer of the collectors of maháls and heads of government generally. Accordingly he first disbanded the four [Najíb] irregular battalions known as the Barq Paltans, and dismissed without fault the officers of these four regiments, who were with Almás 'Ali Khán and Mahbúb 'Ali Khán, two trusted eunuchs and the sharpest officers, whom Shujá'u'ddaulah had himself placed in charge of the sarkárs of Korah, &c., and their dependencies after the reduction of Haidar Beg Khán. Mukhtáru'ddaulah also appointed his own brother, Saiyad Muhammad Khán, his agent, and sent him to Faizábád, and that unmannerly fellow disregarded all courtesy and respect. Notwithstanding the presence of the Nawáb Begam and the Bahu Begam, who were respectively residing in the Motí Bágh, which is in the very Chauk itself, and in the Fort, he used to sound the drum when riding out morning and evening, whereas it is not proper to beat drums near the residence of one's masters. And he appointed his brothers and their sons to posts in all departments and entrusted them with offices such as paymaster, treasury superintendent, and household

steward, and, dismissing all Shujá'u'ddaulah's old servants, who had discharged the affairs of the súbah with distinction and skill, he endeavoured to detract from their character and reputation. Time and tide were in his favour. The influence of Mu'azziz Khán, Mír Muharram Khán, Salámullah Khán, Mírza Jání, and others knew no bounds, and not one of them could tread the earth for pride, and each treated small and great fearlessly and unceremoniously as he pleased. Although Nawáb Sálár Jang, Ásafu'ddaulah's maternal uncle, and other nobles and courtiers of long standing, were still in the camp and were perplexed to think what all this would lead to, none of them made any move. Although Mukhtáru'ddaulah had hitherto been a man of virtue and piety, given to prayer and fasting, he now bid adieu at once to all, and took to drink and gambling. His heart was as filled with pride as Pharaoh's and he fancied he was supreme and there was no one above him, and he arrogated divinity. His constant aim was the ruin of the army and the overthrow of Ásafu'ddaulah's power and his own estate. He made Ráe Tapar Chand, the superintendent of the treasury, a prisoner without any cause, and he treated all the officials of Shujá'u'ddaulah's time in similar fashion without rhyme or reason. He wished them all to stand round him with folded hands. The most resolute of them resigned with spirit and retired into private life. Had Sálár Jang, who was in the camp, and Mírza 'Ali Khán, who was in Faizábád, raised the slightest alarm and set themselves to manage the province and army in conjunction with the officers of the camp, there would have been no such anarchy and ruin, but, owing to their personal cowardice and profligate pursuits, they were so demoralized that all they could

do was give their daughters in marriage to Muḫtáru'd-daulah's sons. 'Ambar 'Ali Khán and Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, two eunuchs who comprehended the situation, danced attendance on Muḫtáru'd-daulah night and day and thus sought to save their honour and reputation. Those who neglected to do so were involved in ruin.

What was Ásafu'd-daulah about? If any one desired an audience, the answer was: "Go to Muḫtáru'd-daulah: I don't care for an audience." He was day and night in company with abandoned and abject Hindús, and under the influence of drink plunged in base enjoyments, under the instigation and allurements of his vile companions. He was so open and shameless in the pursuit of forbidden pleasures that the commonest people of the bázár were horrified to hear of his conduct. The fame of his misconduct was so great that thousands of people far and near were constantly conversing, and their common opinion was that, though from the days of Adam up to that time there had been a thousand kings and rulers bloody, tyrannical, unmanly, and shameless, yet such vicious conduct had not been read of in any history. There was no low or low-minded class, barbers, green-grocers, butchers, fuel-vendors, elephant-drivers, sweepers, and tanners, but some of them rose to opulence and rode proudly through the market-places in fringed palankeens, on elephants with silver litters, or on state horses. The sight of it was enough to make the sky fall and the earth quake and dissolve in the water. When the hot weather ended and the rains approached, he marched from Mahndi Ghát to Lucknow and took up his residence in the Haveli in the old Yaḫ Muhalla. He ceased to reside at Faizábád, but the city remained as before. Some battalions were left to guard the city

and several batteries of artillery and pickets were stationed on the look-out at the gates. All the equipments and surroundings of wealth and grandeur were by degrees transferred to Lucknow, and the cantonments and workshops, and elephants, bullocks, and everything connected with government and the state, gathered there. The market for the camp-followers, troops, and all servants of the government, old and new, left Faizábád and went to Lucknow. Thus the decay of Faizábád began.

After his arrival at Lucknow, Mukhtáru'ddaulah Moves taken against the Begams. secretly resolved to go to Faizábád and effect the ruin of the Begams. He addressed Ásafu'ddaulah, when in a state of intoxication, and said to him: "All the accumulated wealth of 'Safdar Jang and Shujá'u'ddaulah is with the Begams, and it will all go to keep up the style of their eunuchs. If you direct, I shall go and get it out of them as best I can." The stupefied fool thoughtlessly gave the word for the plunder of his mother and grandmother. A word is enough to excite a madman. Mukhtáru'ddaulah took with him the Eunuch Brigadier, Basant 'Ali Khán, and some companies of regulars; and Mr. John Bristow, the Resident at Lucknow, and Nawáb Sálár Jang also accompanied him to Faizábád. He quartered himself at the Bahu Begam's gate. He did not present the nazr which it is customary for servants to tender. Basant 'Ali Khán, who was really nothing more than a slave, went inside the palace with a sword in his belt. When the lady's eyes fell on his sword, she reproved him with stinging reproaches. On the very first day a demand for money was made through Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán. The Bahu Begam replied: "I have no money, and any

"that I have is the gift of Shujá'u'ddaulah. I have given money to Ásafu'ddaulah three or four times." On receiving this answer, Mukhtáru'ddaulah wriggled like a snake, and made use of very disrespectful language in the presence of Mírza 'Alí Khán, the Begam's elder brother, who, notwithstanding his being a man, stood and listened quietly and did not check him. When it was evening he retired and went to his bed. On the second day he returned and renewed his demand. Things went so far that the Begam ordered her eunuchs, about ten or twelve men and about twenty lads, some thirty in all, to stand ready with sword and buckler inside her palace. The writer of these pages and his brother Ahmad 'Ali, the Názir Jawáhir 'Alí Khán's steward, were sitting in the Khán's house, when a lad named Khurram 'Ali came out of the harem, lifted Jawáhir 'Alí Khán's sword and shield, and told us what was going on at the gate. All that day apprehensions of a disturbance increased and alarming news continued to come from the gate. Nothing was settled. The Begam said to Mírza 'Alí Khán, "Through you I have lost rest and sleep. You are always bringing messages from those men and you never answer them. When men are like this women stand a bad chance." At last Mr. John Bristow interfered and advised the Begam, suggesting that she should now give enough money to prevent a future demand, for, if she did not, Ásafu'ddaulah, who was beside himself through thoughtlessness and drunkenness, and who ignored courtesy, civility, and social distinctions, would always treat her with such rudeness that life would be unbearable to her: and that, as he was on this occasion the mediator between her and the Nawáb Wazír, she should receive a written engagement,

confirmed by an oath, that no one should again interfere with her while she lived.* When this counsel was conveyed to the Begam, Mírza 'Ali Khán, who was her full brother and older than her, and an experienced man of the world, represented to her that her son, whom she had made ruler of the state, had proved to be covetous and shamêless, and was, moreover, now an habitual drunkard and surrounded by companions who had not a particle of humanity in their nature: that this man, who was his minister, thought no end of himself: that, if was best under the circumstances to hand over, through the Resident, some money and whatever she did not want of any other property, and that the Resident would himself be obliged to her, because he had brought about the settlement; that a report of this would go to Calcutta and London and a reliable engagement under seal would be received: that it behoved her to obtain a release from this daily worry, which had lasted for a year and deprived her of rest; that she should renounce her son and see him no more, look for nothing good from him, and pass the rest of her days in peaceful seclusion. After this consultation and the lapse of a week the Begam gave in, and the sum of sixty laks of rupees was agreed upon. Sixteen laks already given and eight laks now given were disbursed from her treasury. The writer himself produced 30,000 rupees from his office-chest and included it in the eight laks. In all twenty-four laks were paid in cash, and the remaining thirty-six laks were paid as follows. She made over seventy elephants out of the eighty which she had in her stalls, and kept ten. These were set off at prices ranging from two to three thousand

* Here the author narrates a dream he had on this night, and its fulfilment. I omit it, as it is puerile.

rupees each. Out of nine hundred bullock-carriages she kept forty and surrendered eight hundred and sixty with Nagauri bullocks. She also gave an inlaid huqqah with a coiled tube worth 70,000 rupees, a saddle with gold mounting worth 17,000 rupees, forty chambals,* the chains of which were inlaid with precious stones and were marvels of exquisite workmanship. Precious stones also and necklaces of pearls, and webs of cloth and Kásháni velvet, and tents of velvet and cloth, were brought together, and their value having been assessed, they were given over. She caused a deed to be drawn up to this effect: "Hereafter I, Ásafu'ddaulah, have no claim or demand on, or business with, money or valuables accumulated in the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah, or on slaves, male or female, or eunuchs, or the maháls in the jágírs, or aught else: if I ever again make any such claim or demand, I shall be a sinner in the sight of God and the Prophet and the Imáms:" and she procured the seals of Mr. John Bristow, Mukhtáru'ddaulah, and Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán, to it and kept it. The whole transaction ended in eight days.

Mukhtáru'ddaulah, after getting all this money and property into his possession, sent a polite message to Muharrem 'Ali Khán, the Nawáb Begam's Názir, saying: "The Bahu Begam has given all this money and property to her son, and now the Nawáb Begam, who is greater than both, might give me some present in memory of the occasion." The Begam sent word that she had only five laks of rupees in her treasury, which she had reserved for a pilgrimage to Makka, but that she would give him something as he wished, and

* The cover of a huqqah bowl is called *chambal*.

that he was to come in the morning to the palace door. When she had given this answer, she sent for her eunuchs and ordered them to be in readiness, and when he came to the gate they were to give him a seat in a certain spot, which was near the outer door of the inner gate, and to first draw him into a conversation regarding his demand, and then, when they found him off his guard, beat him to death with their shoes. Some of his spies at once informed him of this plot. In the morning he started on his journey and went to Lucknow. When he got to the gate of the citadel, known as the nákah, he rubbed his face with his hand and uttered some haughty sentiments regarding the Begams. He never returned to Faizábád. In the month of Sha'bán he left, and on the 7th of Šafar he was killed at Itáwah by some of Basant 'Ali's followers. Thus ended all his pomp and pride in the twinkling of an eye.*

From the day that the foregoing occurrence happened between the mother and her son, an estrangement followed. The Bahu Begam never mentioned his name, and if any one else named him, she turned her head away. If she ever happened to be compelled to write to him, she wrote on the envelope only the word 'Asafu'ddaulah,' instead of 'Barkhurdár núr Chashm.'† Thus seven years passed. Whenever he came at the end of the year to shoot and passed through Faizábád, he used to halt for a night, or at most two nights, and he then called on his mother, sat for a few minutes in her presence and left. There was no warmth or cordiality on either side.

* For a full account of Mukhtáru'ddaulah's murder see page 20 of the translator's 'History of Asafu'uddaulah,' published at the Government Press, Allahábád, in 1885.

† An expression equivalent to 'My dear son.'

In the year 1190 A.H. [1776 A.D.] there were in Mutiny of Bhágh Faizábád three regiments of red-Ráe's regiments. coat regulars numbering 3,000 men, and their commander was a Hindú named Bhágh Ráe. They had been employed from the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah to guard the city and the Begam's palace, and to take care of his minor wives and the Nawáb's own quarters, and of the store-houses and other buildings. With them there also were 500 Mughal artillerymen and fifty or sixty guns. They heard all that was passing at Lucknow. They remained unpaid for a year and a half after Asafu'ddaulah's accession, and then, if any of them demanded pay, guns were planted against them and irregulars drawn up before them, if they happened to be regulars, and some of them were killed and the rest fled; if they were irregulars who clamoured, the regulars on the other hand were called out to quiet them. This continued until about half of this force of Shujá'u'ddaulah's was scattered. Bhágh Ráe went to Lucknow, spent some months running to every official, and after vast exertions and trouble obtained a few thousand rupees on running account. He was convinced of the hopelessness of the case and consulted with the force. They resolved that, as they had been for a long time employed on guard duty with the Bahu Begam, they should besiege her palace until they got their pay from her and then leave for their homes. They prepared to carry out their resolve. When the Mughal artillerymen, who were all residents of Faizábád, heard of the plot, they informed the Begam of it through her eunuchs, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán, and said that they would be true; that they had artillery; and that, if they

were given 5,000 rupees to distribute among themselves, who were starving, they would draw out their guns and hold the regulars in check when they took up arms. When the Begam heard the proposal, she replied that she had not recruited them; that Āsafu'ddaulah was the master of the province, and they should get their pay from him; for she would not give them a fraction. The helpless men several times repeated their representations, so as to keep themselves clear, but she would not fall in with their proposals. At last they were compelled to join the regulars, who were only in want of some excuse for a disturbance. On the 9th of Shawwāl 1190 A.H. [1776 A.D.], Jawáhir 'Ali Khán ordered ten newly-recruited irregulars to quarter themselves at the Begam's gate. It was winter. They wished to put up a thatch at one side. The regulars forbade them to do it. The reason of their interference was demanded. They replied that there was no business for the new comers while they were there. Yár 'Ali, who was the corporal of the irregulars, represented the matter to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán wished to have his way. This proved a sufficient cause for an *émeute*. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, my brother Ahmad 'Ali Khán, and others went to the Begam's gate with 150 men. I, the author, who was then accountant of the treasury, remained alone in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house. In a moment all the regulars assembled and the Mughals brought out their artillery in concert with them, and they surrounded the whole fort as if for a siege. They first besieged Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house and placed two guns ready for action behind it. Ahmad 'Ali was that day preparing to send twenty-four newly-recruited irregulars to the maháls of the jágír, and the muster-clerk was taking down their

names, when he left them with me and went away. I acted with rapidity, placed twelve on the roof of the palace gateway where I lodged, and twelve on the roof of the house. The fact is, not one of them had a bullet or a charge of powder. It so happened that Bahár 'Ali Khán had recruited a company of irregulars for employment in his division of the jágír and was then having their descriptive-rolls written. They attempted to return to their homes for the day, as this disturbance was going on. When they reached the door of the fort, the regulars, who were present in great force, prevented their egress. They turned and came in their perplexity to me, where I was sitting at the door of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house. I asked them what was wrong. They told me, and I told them they were my servants and were to stand at the door, and I gave them five rupees for pipes and tobacco. There was one small cannon on the premises, which I brought out and posted at the door with them. Suddenly one regiment with two cannons came up, intending to pass by this route to the palace gate. My men told them that, if they passed one pace beyond them, they would fire on them in their rear with this cannon. Things continued thus until midnight. Water and food were wholly unattainable: even if I wanted fire for a huqqah, I could not get it. Bearers came out from the kitchen, which was in front of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's gate, with trays of food for the Begam, Asafu'ddaulah's wife, who was then in Faizábád. The Mughal artillerymen plundered the food and carried off the trays and covers. When they saw me, they said: "The Begam's money is here: we'll take it from Jawáhir 'Ali;" and they indulged in jests and said everything that came to their

tongues. All the shops in the city were closed and not a shopkeeper was to be seen. When a whole day and night and one watch of a second day had passed, the helpless Begam directed that they should be paid. She ordered 84,000 rupees to be disbursed, and that the men should lay down the flintlocks which they had received from her. They declined, saying that they would not lay down their arms in the city, for, if they did, her men might fire upon them suddenly and take the money back, but that they would go to the plain outside the city on the south, where Dáráb 'Ali Khán's house was, and first distribute their pay and afterwards lay down their arms in that place. They asked to have Nishát 'Ali Khán sent with them. At last, after receiving their pay they dispersed, but left in tears. Two or three of them came to the bázár near Jawáhir 'Ali's to pay shop-keepers' accounts. I asked them why they were crying; they replied: "We are human beings. In the first place, "we have been for generations settled in this province, "In the next, we have been in this service for twelve "years, and we have come to love this palace. How "can we again look on these buildings? Besides, we have "become stigmatized as mutineers, because we have be- "sieged the wife of Shujá'u'ddaulah for nothing and have "extorted our pay. Regret on this score makes us weep."

It was late in the afternoon when 3,000 regulars and 500 Mughal artillerymen with guns left the city and thousands of spectators from the city and market followed. Behind this vast crowd followed Nishát 'Ali Khán on a bullock-carriage with ten or twenty men, going to disarm the troops. The bags were produced on the plain, which was called Dábá Senbhar, and the accountants and the agents of each company paid the

soldiers man by man. All was over by evening. Of the thousands of rupees which had been brought from Faizábád about half were left. When the Mughals saw this sum in excess of their pay, they said why should it fall to these villagers, that they ought to seize it. They fired a blank round from their cannons, then drew their swords and rushed at the money. The regulars were disconcerted, threw down their arms, and fled in all directions. Nishát 'Ali Khán also mounted his bullock-carriage, left the crowd and made for the city, and thus saved himself. Muskets were lying on the ground in all directions for eight or ten miles. That night the city was without troops. Not a soldier remained. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, in compliance with the Begam's order, sent two companies of irregulars with one gun to the Lucknow turnpike and one company south to the Allahábád turnpike, and Bahár 'Ali Khán's men were sent towards Awadh. Thus, at the Begam's and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's gate, there were only a few servants left.

Next day orders were given to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán that, as these Mughals who had so misconducted themselves lived within the city, he should seize them all, now that their combination with the regulars was broken, and harass each of them and make them disgorge the money : and that, if a single regular were to be seen in the city, he was to punish him and drive him out. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's famous neophyte* went with fifty irregulars and brought in hundreds of Mughals tied to the one rope to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's door. Heavens ! how I saw the tables turned ! Yesterday what swagger and pride ; to-day how disgraced and crest-fallen !

* Yár 'Ali.

He wrung as much of the money as he could from each, paid about a thousand into the treasury and pocketed the rest himself. Each of them went to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and said that Yár 'Ali had taken so much from him. Yár 'Ali admitted it and said that the sum was included in the thousand, while there were about two or three thousand rupees embezzled by Yár 'Ali.

In the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah there were two arsenals on different sides of the city: one south, near Gosháin Himmat Bahádur's cantonment, the other outside the breast-work of the inner enclosure near Yúnus Khwájá-sará's Sarái. Though the manufacture of new guns and muskets was now suspended, there were vast stores of iron, copper, and lead in these places. The officers in charge of these stores and their sepoy endeavoured to maintain watch by means of one or two guards. Thus Ghulám Husen Khán, who was master of the west arsenal, had one guard of regulars in black uniforms from Bhágh Ráe, and their regiment was at Lucknow. They had nothing to do with guarding the city and were altogether outside the operation of the Begam's order; but that rascal Yár 'Ali, acting on the Begam's order that not a vestige of the regulars should be left in the city, went with ten or twenty irregulars and began to expel these guards by force. Although Ghulám Husen appealed to him and represented that he and his subordinates had no connection with the troops who had mutinied, and that he was stationed solely to guard government stores, and that, if he and his men were removed, all these stores would be carried off by thieves, and though he entreated Yár 'Ali for God's sake to refrain, the conceited blockhead turned a deaf ear to him and seized every one by the arms and hands, and did not give them time to gather their

property, but turned them out. Ghulám Husen had no resource left but to send a report of this high-handed proceeding of Yár 'Ali's to Ásafu'ddaulah.

Although the Nawáb's and the English intelligencers had written full accounts of the outrages and disturbances of the last two days and nights and had already despatched them, Ásafu'ddaulah was so indifferent to public affairs and so lost in his own idle pursuits that he remained uninformed. The Resident had, however, read and noted all. When Ghulám Husen's report reached him, Ásafu'ddaulah roused himself and became blind with rage. He rode off at once to the Resident and poured out his complaint: "Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán, my mother's eunuchs, have conspired, gathered a large army, subverted my authority in Faizábád, driven some battalions which were stationed there out of the city, and are prepared for riot and revolt. It is necessary that I should go myself with troops and artillery and quench this fire. You must come with me. As they have not yet made headway, we may be able to stem the river at its rise." The Resident replied: "My intelligencers have written me the true account, how your sepoys are to blame. They besieged the Begam two days and nights, starved her, and, extorting from her 84,000 rupees, took to their heels. And as to what you say, that the eunuchs have subverted your authority in the súbah, the súbah and maháls of the súbah do not lie within the walls of Faizábád, so that they cannot have taken everything into their own power. Talk reasonably. It is not befitting your dignity to go in person to punish your servants. Send some confidential person to find out the truth and bring you information." Notwithstanding

this advice, he made no reply to the Resident and returned in as great a rage as ever to his palace.

There was a base creature named Imám Bakhsh, who had been a playmate of Āsafu'ddaulah's in his boyhood. Shujá'u'ddaulah had driven him off and imprisoned him for life at Tándah. Āsafu'ddaulah had on his accession recalled him, raised him to the highest dignity and made him general in command of his whole army. He was quarrelsome, malicious, and presumptuous. The Nawáb now sent for him, gave him 700 Turk irregular cavalry, and told him to ride post-haste that night to Faizábád and bring him in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's and Bahár 'Ali Khán's heads. A 'whoo!' is enough to set a maniac going, and he, who only wanted such commissions, was ready. Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán, one of the ministers of the súbah, heard this and was alarmed. He was ill at the time, but he went and waited on the Resident; he represented that Imám Bakhsh was a desperately vicious character and would rush headlong without consideration; that there were in Faizábád 1,500 servants of the Bahu Begam's; that the city walls were fortified, and there was a cannon and a large body of men at each gate; and that there would very likely be bloodshed if this man approached the city; that, if the Resident would apply, it might be arranged for him to go with Imám Bakhsh. The Resident rode over himself to see the Nawáb and insisted on Hasan Razá Khán's going. It so happened that two post-carriers, servants of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's steward, had gone to Lucknow to 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, who had something to do in connection with political and revenue matters with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, and, having got the answer to a letter, went to sleep with the Nawáb's post-carriers, who were their

caste-fellows and brothers. They discovered the preparations that Imám Bakhsh and Hasan Razá Khán were making to go to Faizábád. They travelled all night, arrived at daybreak at Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's house, woke him up, and told him what was going on. Imám Bakhsh and Hasan Razá Khán had got as far as Nauráhi, which is ten miles west of Faizábád. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali went at once to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's quarters and told him. It was Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's custom to come every morning from the Begam's palace to his own house a little before sunrise, wash, pray, read the Qurán, and rest awhile. He used to sit alone, and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali used to come shortly after sunrise from his house to see Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. I, who used to live over the gate, as soon as I had prayed, noticed that Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali had come this day in an excited state before his usual time and gone in with the two post-carriers and was talking in whispers to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. The latter got up quickly and went without his retainers into the Begam's rooms. He woke the Bahu Begam and told her all. I was puzzled to know what was up, seeing that all the residents in the court of the palace were whispering to each other. The Begam ordered them to send word to the sepoy's stationed at the outposts not to permit the comers to pass, and to kill them if they persisted in approaching. There was a wonderful commotion in the city, easier seen than described. Every one was horrified, thinking what was going to happen to him. All the inhabitants were running in all directions, not knowing where they were going or coming.

When Imám Bakhsh passed Mumtáznagar and proceeded to enter the city, the irregulars brought out the

guns, loaded their muskets, and obstructed the road. Imám Bakhsh was afraid to advance. He looked to Hasan Razá Khán to tell him what to do. The latter told him that, if he would follow his advice and act according to what he said, he could do something. Imám Bakhsh was forced to comply. Hasan Razá Khán sent a friend of his to the Begam's gate, saying: "Your humble servant has come from Lucknow to see you. What have I done wrong that your servants keep me back?" Permission was given for him to come, and Ághá Muhammad Sádiq, one of the Begam's servants, was sent to bring Hasan Razá Khán only and to leave Imám Bakhsh where he was. After some further communications the latter was also allowed to come. A large body of followers with Hasan Razá Khán and seven hundred Turk irregular cavalry, in all about a thousand armed men, came to the Begam's gate and presented nazrs. A long parley followed. On the Begam's part Bahár 'Ali Khán was by no means slack in bold contention. All retired to their quarters after sunset. Imám Bakhsh also, seeing the numerous retinue of the eunuchs and the large crowd about the Begam's gate, moved away, but kept thinking of a plan to get the two eunuchs alone and lay his hands on them and carry them off to Lucknow. As Hasan Razá Khán was constantly observing his wily movements and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's followers were on the alert, the rascal was not able to carry out his designs, although he plotted for eight days. One night he got drunk and he sent for a concubine named Mithu, who lived at Faizábád. In her hearing he said swaggeringly to his Turk irregulars: 'I'll carry off those two eunuchs as a hawk carries off a bird in his talons.' In the morning the woman sent for

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's table servant, Muhammad Shákir, and quietly told him how matters were, and that this apparent negligence was only a feint. The servant went back and told what he had heard.

Next day after Zuhar prayer, in the early evening, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was going to see the Begam. The bearers had brought the palankeen to his door. Except two or three mace-bearers no one, not even a sepoy of his escort, had come near the palankeen. Imám Bakhsh heard of this, how the eunuch was going to the gate alone. He told a company of his sepoy to go quickly and surround him the minute he came out of his quarters and bring him to him. The company, which consisted of not less than twenty men, leaving a space of ten or twenty paces clear before Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's gate, drew up in line with bayonets fixed. I was sitting over the gate and I asked who they were. They said they were Imám Bakhsh's retainers; that he was coming presently to the gate; and that they were waiting to salute him and go with him. I suspected treachery, because I saw their bayonets on their guns, and I knew that the house in which Imám Bakhsh lodged was a long way off and what they said was meaningless. I sent at once for Yár 'Ali and conveyed a warning through him privately to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. At that moment Muhammad Hayát Khán, Mírza Phalauri's son-in-law, brother of Zakariyá Khán Láhauri, had come in and was in deep conversation with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who pretended not to hear what Yár 'Ali said and gave him no reply. He was not all disconcerted, but went on listening to Muhammad Hayát Khán. Yár 'Ali was obliged to bring a company of irregulars and post them near the palankeen. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, however, did

not go out and Imám Bakhsh's regulars waited till evening and returned without attaining their object.

This state of things continued for eight days. Hasan Razá Khán sent a full account of all that happened, and how things were at Faizábád, to the Nawáb Asafu'd-daulah, who sent orders for their return and to bring with them the muskets of the sepoys who had mutinied. When they applied for the arms the Begam said that she held them for her 84,000 rupees, and that if they paid her, they might take them. The Khán gave a bond for the money to be paid a week after his return to Lucknow and took the guns. So good came out of evil. This happened in the month of Shawwál 1190 A.H. [1776 A.D.]. Things went on smoothly after this for five years.

From the beginning of the year 1189 A.H. [1775 A.D.] in the time of Shujá'u'd-daulah, when he returned from Baksar and took up his quarters in Faizábád city, five pious members of the medical profession from Delhi entered the service of the Nawáb and the Begams on high salaries. Although each of them was to all appearances on terms of brotherly unity with the others, yet, owing to their profession as medical men, each secretly sought to surpass his rivals and further his own interests. Notwithstanding this jealousy, which is the most evil quality in man's nature, each of them stood bound to the others by a mutual agreement on oath: so that, if any person of the most eminent attainments, even Jabrá'il himself from heaven, were to come and prove his medical skill or his learning* and literary knowledge, they would unite and by the vilest means rob him of his

* '*Ilm*' refers to all knowledge other than Arabic; '*fazá'il*' refers to Arabic literature and the Qurán and Hadís.

reputation, and by gross slander drive him from the city, not esteeming his sojourn tolerable for even one moment, in order that the local magnates might be wholly dependent on them for medicine and regimen in sickness and advice as to their eternal interests, and that all fees and gratuities that were to be had might fall into their hands alone. Accordingly the late Muhammad Ma'álíj Khán * * * the Begam * * * charity to the indigent poor and the beggars of the city.*

and did not consult books. Arabic and Persian scholars of the city resorted to Maulavi Muhammad Munír for instruction. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán retained this estimable man in his service. Muhammad Ma'álíj Khán began to satirize and slander the man and persisted in doing so. For this reason Jawáhir 'Ali Khán became somewhat vexed with Ma'álíj Khán and sought for a pretext to call him to account. At this very time Mullá 'Abdu'lmajid arrived and thus another learned man was in the city. Maulavi Muhammad Munír joined 'Abdu'lmajid. The eunuchs of both Begams were no longer able to bear the insults and insolence of Ma'álíj Khán and were anxious to disgrace and discredit him. As these medical men, according to their religious views, execrated the martyr Zaid because he rebelled and laid claim to Imámát,† the eunuchs questioned 'Abdu'lmajid on this subject, and he said that this execration was wholly improper. Ma'álíj Khán, hearing that he adhered to this view, prepared to prove from the *aháds*‡ of the Imáms that it was proper thus to

* This is the one lacuna which I have been unable to supply.

† When Imám Zainu'l'Ábdín died, Zaid bin 'Ali bin Husen rebelled against Hushshám bin 'Abdu'lmalik bin Marwán, then ruler of Kúfa and 'Iráq. He was killed and is known as Zaid Shahíd.

‡ Plural of *hadís*, a saying or action accepted as a guide or rule in matters of Muhammadan faith.

anathematize. A day was fixed for a meeting of the two parties at Bahár 'Ali Khán's house to discuss the point, and on the 21st Zíqa'd 1193 A. H. [1779 A. D.] a gathering took place. First came Jawáhir 'Ali Khán with Maulavi Muhammad Munír and his companions, and he took his seat in Bahár 'Ali Khán's house. About two hundred of his armed followers stood at the gate outside. Inside the house there were gathered about two or three hundred of Bahár 'Ali Khán's and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's followers and servants, and residents of the city and spectators came in great numbers, so that there were present over fifteen hundred persons. Muhammad Ma'álíj Khán came with a book from his quarters at the Begam's gate, accompanied by his pupils and his son, and sat down on one side with his party. Then came Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán with Mullá 'Abdu'lmaǵǵd and his companions and a retinue of servants and armed attendants. It was a great public gathering. The followers and attendants of all parties were armed, but they did not know that it was merely a learned discussion that was going on in the house. Fancying that there was a quarrel between their masters, they had gathered for their protection and were ready to fight. They stood in separate parties with the matches of their guns alight. Notwithstanding the spaciousness of the halls, which were built in three arcades, including the outer covered platform, and the great extent of the courtyard, the place was crammed with retainers, and they were so closely packed that it was difficult to draw breath.

On the one side was Ághá 'Abdu'lmaǵǵd; in the first place, a vociferous Irání Mughal; in the second, one of a nation who hold the people of India more contemptible than a blade of grass; in the third, a fluent speaker with

a pleasing voice; in the fourth, in the prime of life, for he had not yet attained his thirtieth year; and fifthly, supported by the most influential men of the city. On the other side was in all respects his opposite; first, a man of small stature and stooped; secondly, old and weak, for he was more than seventy years of age; thirdly, afflicted for many years with palsy, which had bent his neck, and one who had managed to sustain himself solely by the aid of medicine, whose veins stood out on his neck when he spoke and who had great difficulty in uttering his words; fourthly, wholly unsupported and with the local magnates bent on his discomfiture; lastly, unaccustomed to confront a public gathering. The Írání Mughal demanded with a magniloquent air, "What do you say regarding the martyred son of the Imám?" The Khán first strained the veins of his neck, moved his stammering tongue, and at last, with the utmost effort after prolonged stuttering, said: "It is right to curse him." "What is your proof?" said the other. The Khán replied: "In a reliable *hadís* it is —," but, before he could quote the *hadís* or complete his sentence, the Mullá said: "Reliable, what is that?" The doctor, who was not able to speak, held a slip of paper in his hand, but no one knew whether he had written on it the correct interpretation of the *hadís* or the words of the *hadís* itself. He handed it to the Mughal, who threw it behind him and said: "Answer me in words." The son of the old man, who was sitting beside his father, was about to reply for him, but the Mughal said: "Who are you that you speak?" The Khán said: "He is my son." "Who is father or son, I do not know," said the Mughal; "my controversy is with you." The old man and his son both became silent and said no more. The

Mughal rose and said: "Fátiha to the Khán Sháh's imputations."* He then raised his hands and in a loud voice began to cry: "Alhamd!" All those present rose up out of respect for him and began to recite the Fátiha. The place where they were assembled grew dark by their rising and all distinction between master and servant, who was in front and who behind, was lost. The servants, who were standing outside in the courtyard, ran to protect their masters and tried to get in, but could not. They raised a loud cry. The armed men of both parties outside the building thought that some one had been killed inside. They rushed wildly in. Though the gate was wide, each sought to get in before the other. A scramble ensued with swords, shields, and muskets. The news spread in the city. The followers of each public man, who had been left behind at their houses, now hurried up in great excitement. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, who was sitting in the office in 'Ambar 'Ali Khán's house, and had with him at the time, owing to the presence of the Rájás of Tiloi and Salon, and small zamíndárs, and of some Shábitkháni sepoys, about three hundred men, hurried up with them, fearing for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's safety, and arrived, but could not get in. Some wags took advantage of the darkness and confusion to pull the turbans off people's heads and throw them into a deep but empty reservoir, while others drew out swords, daggers, poniards, whatever they could lay their hands on, from their sheaths, and began to play like the fencers who cut capers and whirl themselves

* Fátiha, the opening of the Qurán, is recited as an invocation by Muhammadans and is repeated over the dead. This situation was as though the Mughal were saying: "He is done for; let us pray over him."

round about, crying "Háe dost," before the ta'zias of the Imáms during the first ten days of Muharram. It was a marvellous tumult and no one knew what it was all about. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's men, who were more numerous than those of any other leader present and were about five hundred, got the better of the rest. A second time there was a great scramble at the gate. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, divining the cause, extricated himself with much difficulty from the crowd and went up to the top storey of the house, which had windows looking out upon the road. He opened the windows and showed himself to his men. When they saw their master safe they were satisfied. Tranquillity and quiet were restored. This tumult lasted from sunrise to noon on a day in the cold weather. It ended at last, but for some time after it was much talked of and people composed ballads and wrote narratives regarding it.

Nawáb Muhammad 'Ali Khán, one of the sons of the paternal uncle of Abu'l Manşúr Khán Safdar Jang, who was appointed governor of the Oudh Súbah after Nádir Sháh's invasion, was created agent of the Khairábád sarkár,* and for a long period managed that division of the súbah. On one occasion he had an engagement with the rájas of that neighbourhood, who were rebellious and obstinately refused to pay the government revenue. A great battle ensued. The Nawáb applauded the bravery exhibited by his followers, leaped from the howdah of his elephant, drew his sword and slew the foolish leaders, but sustained

* We would say 'Commissioner of the Khairábád (Sítapur) Division.'

severe wounds himself and fell on the field. He almost died, but the Muslim proved victorious. Hundreds of unbelievers went to hell, and most of their women and children were captured. When the Nawáb recovered from his wounds, he made eunuchs of the boys. One of them died and the rest lived. Among these were Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, Nishát 'Ali Khán, and others. He appointed Mírza Ahmad 'Ali of Khairábád their tutor. Under him they studied the Qurán, the Gulistán and Bostán of Sa'di, and several other Persian works which boys read. About this time Nawáb Šafdar Jang came from Sháhjahánábád to Pápar Ghát and died there. The Nawáb Begam brought his body in a coffin to Faizábád and interred it temporarily in the Guláb Bári, a well-known garden, intending eventually to send it to Sháhjahánábád. Shujá'u'ddaulah succeeded to the governorship of the Oudh Súbah. Nawáb Muhammad 'Ali Khán was removed from his appointment for some disobedience on his son's part and came and settled in Mansúrnagar. He sent 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, Nishát 'Ali Khán, and others to Shujá'u'ddaulah, and kept back for his own service Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who promised to turn out a man of intelligence, good conduct, good appearance and heart. Shujá'u'ddaulah came to know that he had concealed a youth endowed with intelligence, dignity, and all good qualities, and he ordered Dánish 'Ali, one of his eunuchs, to bring the boy away from school without letting Jawáhir 'Ali Khán know. The eunuch went into the school and said to the boy: "The Nawáb wants you." The lad, who knew no other Nawáb but Muhammad 'Ali Khán, thought it was he who had sent for him and came out. The eunuch mounted a horse at the door,

took the boy up behind him, rode off at full speed and arrived at Panj-Mahla. Shujá'u'ddaulah liked the boy when he saw him, and made him over with the others to Khushnazr 'Ali Khán for their education. Mír Bádí'u'ddín of Bijnaur, whose brother's daughter was married to the author of this work, was then Khushnazr's steward and was appointed to take care of the boys. The Qází of the town of Malánwán, an old man, who was considerably versed in Arabic and Persian literature, was appointed their tutor. One day Shujá'u'ddaulah sent for them all and examined them. Their teacher, who was an old dotard, was not exerting himself properly as a tutor. The Nawáb removed Jawáhir 'Ali Khán from his care and placed him under Nuşrat 'Ali, the supervisor of his seraglio. He was an ignorant man, but stern and noted for his violence, wholly devoid of courtesy, sympathy, and tenderness: and he wished to engage a tutor of his own stamp, tyrannical and cruel, who would instruct with rod and whip. He resided near the Panj-Mahla in the place at the east corner of which now stands the bá,oli* constructed by Asafu'ddaulah. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, a Shekh-záda of Kasmandi, was so lucky as to be appointed his tutor. Though he was not a hard or ill-tempered man, he was a most successful teacher. In a short time Jawáhir 'Ali Khán became proficient in the Bahár-i-Dánish, Sikandarnáma of Nizámí, Yúsuf Zulaikhá of Jámí, the Maşnaví Ghanímat of Mullá Akram Kanjáhi Panjábi, and in the writing of nasta'liq† and orthography and letter-writing. Nuşrat 'Ali Khán, who was an indolent servant, eventually entrusted to him the office of deputy supervisor or Názir to be always in attendance

* A well with chambers round it and steps leading to the water for bathing purposes.

† A style of handwriting.

at the ladies' quarters, and lived himself at his ease. When Nuṣrat 'Ali died in 1181 A.H. [1767 A.D.], the post of Názir was conferred on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, and he also held the appointment of superintendent of the Begam's carriage-houses, in which were nine hundred conveyances. As he was thorough in the discharge of his duties in connection with the Begam's gate and the carriage-houses, he was gradually entrusted with the Nawáb's private seal. It was the practice that any magistrate of police (faujdár), when he obtained his appointment to any place, and any cavalry commandant, who procured an order for the pay of his troop, should pay ten per cent. for the affixing of the seal to the order. In this way Jawáhir 'Ali Khán acquired authority over all the collectors of the maháls of the súbah and over the cavalry officers drawing pay of troops, who did not draw direct from the treasury, but from the maháls. He was afterwards entrusted with the administration of eight maháls in the south, which were included in Salon, and with other petty offices, such as the charge of horse and cattle-breeding and of the tolls of Wazírganj and Unám Kháṣṣ and of Isma'íl-ganj, which is near Yahiyáganj in Lucknow, and of the Haveli Kháṣṣ of Gorakhpur, which had been assigned for the maintenance of the female attendants and slaves of the harem. The nobles and their descendants from Shábjahánábád, who had fallen into reduced circumstances and lived on the crumbs of Shujá'u'ddaulah's table, whose stipends were often not less than a thousand or two thousand, or five or fifteen hundred rupees, and singers and bards from Delhi, who used to draw allowances of four or five hundred rupees, were wholly dependent on him for drawing their pensions. Every

month some new duty was imposed on him. One regiment in black uniform and cavalry mounted on horses found by the state were at his service. His pomp and dignity were daily on the increase. Had Shujá'u'ddaulah lived for a few years more, it is probable that the administration of half the Súbah of Oudh would have become vested in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death Asafu'ddaulah went to Lucknow to reside, and the Khán remained with the Begam, as he held the appointment of Názir. The Nawáb's seal and the payment of troops were taken from him. He also lost Wazírganj and Isma'ilganj, but he continued to hold Salon and other small places. He was a eunuch of the harem, ambitious, dignified, courteous, and pure. His liberality, generosity, and stability were famous. In the service of no state or noble, in no historical work, do we meet with another endowed with such splendid qualities, and at the same time so moderate in speech and so sincere in friendship. I, who, having been recommended by Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali Khán to him, was employed in his service and was constantly with him for twenty-seven years, from 1188 to 1214 A.H. [1774 to 1799 A.D.], have told the truth, the whole truth, and have neither concealed nor exaggerated anything. He was exceedingly modest and sensitive. From his early manhood to the close of life he never exposed his body. When he bathed, two attendants, old white-bearded men, rubbed him down. In the warm bath too he had shampooers like them. He never wore coloured clothes, such as the coloured turban which came into fashion in Shujá'u'ddaulah's time, or even a coloured shawl round his waist. In his private house he wore but one garment, and put another over it when he went to court. He

kept his eyes fixed on the ground. When he rode out, he looked neither left nor right. He spoke very little, indeed not at all. His friends who gathered in the morning and evening talked to please him while he sat listening in silence. He was so dignified that, when any of Shujá'u'ddaulah's or Ásafu'ddaulah's courtiers came to see him, he did not rise to receive them. He held rupees and gold-muhars as light as pebbles and never touched them. He never witnessed a dance or other entertainment. He was exceedingly fond of two things; one, a crowd of companions, servants, and infantry or cavalry; the other, buildings. If I wrote all about him, I should produce a separate bulky volume, but I will mention some points. A few out of many will suffice. A notion of his other habits and manners will be guessed from them. His daily life followed a strict routine unless and until broken by some unforeseen exigency. He used to leave the Begam's residence about half an hour before sunrise and come into his own house. If it were winter, as soon as he had washed, he recited prayer, read a chapter of the Qurán, and then sat on a cushion, wearing a long Sháh Nawázkhání coat, usually made of an embroidered shawl and sometimes of kamkhwáb.* He used to sit thus by a reservoir with a shawl round him, and if he felt unusually cold he put a second one over it. Two or three friends dropped in and sat down with him. He said nothing. His friends talked, sometimes about the stories they had heard of Sháhjahán-ábád and the Emperors, and sometimes about the Imáms. He listened. An hour after sunrise he ordered his breakfast. Delicious dishes of rice and pulse were served.

* The stuff commonly called 'kincob' or 'kingcob,' extensively manufactured at Banáras.

The tablecloth glistened like a garden with the colours of the meats and pickles. After breakfast, when a full watch of day had passed, he used to go in a palankeen with a large following to wait on the Begam in the palace, remain with her for an hour or more, return in the same style and hold office for nearly an hour. After that he took a short nap. In the afternoon, after prayer and reading the Qurán, he amused himself with archery in a large company. Later in the evening he used to go up to the housetop and practice at a target there. He received company after sunset. Besides his old friends two or three learned men of the city, persons of respectability and position, used to come in and sit with him. Sometimes the tale of Amír Hamza was told with great eloquence. After supper, when a watch of night had passed, he went into the Begam's private apartments to sleep. He used to go out once in every two or three days for recreation and an airing outside the city, and amuse himself with coursing and hawking. Although his income was not as great as it had been in the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah, he maintained a regular suite of companions and armed attendants, both footmen and mounted retainers. He had not the least love for amassing money. He remitted all nazrs and audience-gratuities, passing them to his servants, were they only ten rupees or were they ten thousand. He merely took them and laid them on the ground. His attendants and domestics lifted them and divided them among themselves. After Beni Bahádur's imprisonment, Ráe Kirpá Dayál and Dín Dayál, residents of Awadh, applied to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to procure his release, and promised to pay him a lak of rupees as a nazr when they had effected their object for them. When their object had

been gained, Beni Bahádur came with Shekh Khwája Muhammad Yáqút Khán to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, bringing fifty thousand rupees, and promised to pay the balance, but he returned the 50,000 rupees and forgave the whole sum. If one were to say that he had netted 'a lak of rupees for nothing, he would remain silent, and exhibit no signs of gratification; or if one said he had lost as much, he evinced no regret.

On one occasion a hot dispute arose between 'Aqalmand, a foster child of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's, and the sons of Nawáb Zafaru'ddaulah, eldest son of Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán, in a Hindú fair. 'Aqalmand made use of violent and abusive language and turned away. He came excited into the house. Zafaru'ddaulah heard what had happened. He was then drunk and he mounted his horse and came with the men who were about him to the house to exact revenge. A watchman brought in word. Some friends and others were with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, but all were unarmed. He ordered the custodian of his armoury to give each a sword and shield. When the disturbance was over, not one of them returned the weapons and he never asked for them.

A large company was employed at Bahár 'Ali Khán's house one year, on the seventh of Muharram, in the celebration of the ta'zíadári. The crowd was immense, and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's servants had not room to stand round him. When the reading of marśíyas and the story was over, and the people rose up to beat their breasts, there was a light-fingered gentleman there who lifted a silver spittoon and carried it off. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán saw that it was a stranger who was taking it, but he took no notice of the theft. When he returned to his house he said to me: "You were quite close to me. Did you see

the thief's trick?" I said I did not. "There was," he continued, "a stranger who took something." The fact is, that he felt it was not consistent with the dignity and respectability of his position that he should stand up in a public gathering and ask the man who he was, and why he was taking the thing. A similar occurrence happened when he entertained Mr. Middleton and other Englishmen. Six of them were sitting on chairs watching a dance. Their servants were standing in attendance, and had set before them gold and silver betel-boxes and scent bottles and trays and spray-diffusers belonging to the host. When the guests departed, the servants emptied the betel-boxes, and one of them took the gold lid of a box and carried it away in his pocket. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán noticed this but said nothing. When all had gone and search was made, it could not be found out who had taken the lid. He then told how the servant of a certain Englishman had put it in his pocket and taken it away. At last word was sent to Hulás Ráe, the English Díván, and he made inquiries and returned the article.

'Ambar 'Ali Khán was appointed police magistrate of Sarkár Khairábád. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said to him: "It is no good your taking office in your own city. I wish you had taken another mahál. The subjects and residents will enjoy favours, good treatment, and protection, and you will have to give ma'áfis and pensions and stipends, and help people and give money away. If you don't, where is the pleasure of your position at Khairábád?"

After the death of the elder Begam, Ásafu'ddaulah arrested Muharram 'Ali Khán and Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán for embezzlement of the treasures, jewellery, cash, and

other property of his grandmother, and imprisoned them and sent for them to Lucknow. Tahsín 'Ali Khán, who was Ásafu'ddaulah's Názir, had an enmity of long standing against these two men and used every secret endeavour to work their disgrace. He was with them. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who had gone to Lucknow with the usual complimentary robe from the Begam for presentation on the Nawáb's birth-day anniversary, was returning and met them on the way. He called Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán aside and whispered to him not to give way to fear, but to speak out resolutely; and if the Nawáb, on the calumnious and malicious representations of Tahsín, asked for more than was in the Begam's coffers, he should maintain his self-respect and pay over, adding, "I have a lak or two of rupées and you are welcome to them. The moment I get a hint from you, I'll send them."

While Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was away at Lucknow, a sepoy, one of the watchmen left in charge of his house, stole a bag of rupees from some place, and afterwards was overcome by fear and threw it away under a tree in the courtyard. He told his superior officer, who lifted the bag of money and took it to keep. When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán returned, the officer gave up the bag of money and told him what had happened. He said nothing, and, when the officer expressed his wonder that he ordered no one to take charge of the money, he remarked, "He took it. It was his father's."*

A Mughal pedlar from Írán brought webs of Kábul cloths and woollen Kashmír goods, such as the nobles and princes of those countries wore in the extreme cold

* This means Jawáhir 'Ali looked on his sepoy as his son.

and in the rainy season. He laid out the goods and they were sold for 10,000 rupees. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán kept the goods and told me to pay the money to the trader. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, the head of the treasury, said to him, "Sir, you have in your wardrobe an endless stock of splendid clothes usually worn in this country. These clothes are not the sort in fashion here. What is the use of spending money unnecessarily?" The reply came: "This poor Mughal has travelled a long way in the hope of profit. He has come to Lucknow, thinking Hindústán a rich country and its inhabitants wealthy. There there are Ásafu'ddaulab, the Wazír of Hindústán, whose liberality is famous, Hasan Bazá Khán, Haidar Beg Khán's deputy, and Tikait Ráe and hundreds of other wealthy men; but not one of them has deigned to patronize him, so he has come on to Faizábád. Beyond this where is he to go? If he has to carry his goods back to his native country, he will perish of grief on the way. This money, which I have deposited in these boxes in my treasury, will not last. I take these goods instead of that money. For the mere keeping, a stone is as good as a bit of silver." The Mughal sang his praises and set out for his native land.

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had many companions and sepoy in his service. No year or month passed without his adding to their number. The monthly disbursements of pensions to various persons ranged from five to one hundred rupees each. Before this it had been usual to entertain such as courtiers on written promises of one hundred rupees, pay and accoutrements, and horses were provided for them from the government stables. It often happened that these men embezzled their

accoutrements, and yet he never enquired for them or tried to trace them.

It was owing to his efforts that the observance of congregational prayer was introduced into Faizábád, which was not an established rule of faith with Shí'a's. As the residents were not habituated to or inclined to meet for public prayer, why should individuals undergo an irksome and disagreeable trial in the rains, or in a heavy shower, or in the early morning in winter, when disinclined to leave their houses, particularly as their houses were far from the government mosque? When he saw this, he engaged ten or twenty men as servants to bring companies of people to the mosque to pray at the five appointed hours.

As a special rule, he used to make most appointments on the recommendations of others. One of his companions objected that persons appointed on recommendations were not careful in attending to their duties, and "what," asked he, "is the good of appointing such persons?" He answered, "People of independent means like cock-fighting and matching larks, partridges, and amandavas, and breed and keep birds of many kinds. My fancy is the care of men. The reason of my entertaining persons on recommendations is, I myself like men, and I gain them in every way, and two people are pleased, the recommender and the recommended." Those who came daily to pay him court, he kept hanging on for months. When such a one became disheartened and had no hope of immediate appointment, he was pleasantly surprised to see Jawáhir 'Alí Khán draw out a bundle of memoranda of pay for the past two or three months in his own handwriting and signed, which

he had been keeping in his writing-desk. When he saw a table-servant or house-servant wearing dirty clothes or in great need, he used to give him some of these memoranda bearing his signature, and tell him to take them to so and so. The latter, who had grown hopeless, saw how they had been registered as in employment for three or four months past, and now they were getting a hundred rupees or the like, and so they gave the servants whatever they had at the moment to give. Every year he had ten or twenty new coats and trousers made, and he used to distribute his old clothes among his needy friends. Thus his winter clothing, such as overcoats, cloaks, quilts, long-coats, short-coats, and shawls, never went on from one year into another. It was the same with his riding horses. Round him were gathered the foremost in all arts and professions, men of learning, physicians, penmen, archers, stone-polishers, mounted and infantry soldiers of every description, red-coated regulars, black-dressed irregulars, and Śābitkhānis, Mewātis, Bundelas, and Chandelas. When he went up to his housetop for target practice, there were round him below on every side infantry in uniform under arms, standing steady as pictures on a wall. Wherever he turned, his eye fell on them. They were ready to take any orders. On the occasions of the marriages of either sons or daughters of his protégés, he gave money to them according to rank in addition to their fixed pay. If one died, he paid up his salary to the date of his death, and evinced great tenderness for his helpless survivors. He loved cleanliness, washing, sweeping, neatness. No friend even of his was permitted to come in with iron-heeled shoes lest their marks should be seen in the courtyard of the house,

and no one was allowed to eat betel or expectorate on the ground. From the beginning of his career he was accustomed to ride on an elephant or in a Hindústáni palánkeen. But in the rains he adopted the "sabukraw"* as a means of conveyance. It was he who invented the "sabukraw," which all the independent residents of Faizábád and Lucknow subsequently adopted. When Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah came from Lucknow to Faizábád on any occasion, most of his courtiers in attendance, and even nobles of independent means, came to see him, and they never left him empty handed. One recommended a person for employment, another asked for a horse to ride, a third for a shawl, a fourth for money, and so on; none left without gaining his object. In the latter part of his life he used to ride on horse-back. He used merely to pass through the city on an elephant or in a palanquin: but outside the city he mounted a horse and rode alone four or five miles. He galloped violently. Not one of his escort could keep up with him. If any one did happen to overtake him, he gave him a present of a couple of gold coins. He was a shapely, well-made, and well-proportioned man, erect, but of middle height, who wore his clothes to advantage. He was dignified and firm, and as liberal as resolute, modest, devout, and consistent. At the time of Ásafu'ddaulah's death he came to Lucknow with the Bāhu Begam, and lived with her for a year and eight months in Rāja Jháo La'l's Bárahdari, opposite (an edifice)† which was built by the Nawáb on an elevated spot. During all three seasons, winter, summer, and rains, he was unaffected by climatic influences. My pen is not

* Lit. "quick-mover," a kind of open sedan.

† There is a word wanting in the original, and I have here inserted the general term 'edifice.'

equal to the record of his good qualities. He died in his fifty-seventh year on the 15th Jamádi, u'sṣāni, 1214 A.H. [1799 A.D.], after an illness of ten or twelve days, and was buried in the Imámbára which he had himself built. The building was a wooden one in those days, but after his death Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán greatly enlarged it and made a brick building. I wrote, at Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán's request, the quatrain which is inscribed on his tomb:—

When this great man, a Jewel rightly named,
To rest beneath the dust of earth was laid,
The great archangel thus his death proclaimed:
"Lo! at the Imám's feet his grave is made."*

I now return to the history of Faizábád, which is the main subject of this volume. After History of Faizábád resumed. Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, and the removal of Ásafu'ddaulah to Lucknow, some nobles and grandees continued to reside in Faizábád and would not forsake the place. There was Nawáb Šadru'nnisa Begam, Shujá'u'ddaulah's mother. He had made a residence for her within the fort, a copy of the bárahdari and residence built by Nawáb Ja'far Kẖán 'Álamgiri, which she had seen at Sháhjahánábád. He was rebuilding this residence of hers, and she had left the fort and gone to reside for the time at the Motí Bágh, which is in the Chauk, when the Nawáb died before completing the work. The Nawáb Begam therefore remained in the Motí Bágh. She had four hundred sepoy to guard her palace; and learned men and physicians and nobles, and some descendants of the Delhi families, and courtier-eunuchs were in her service. Many eunuchs, such as Muharram 'Ali Kẖán Názir, Maṭbú' 'Ali Kẖán, Iltifát 'Ali Kẖán,

* This is a chronogram. The last line in the original yields the date. Note that 'Jawáhir' means 'jewel.'

Mián Sukhnfahím, Mián Jáwed, Bahrayáb, and Dáná, and Bakhtáwar, Tezhosh, and Shafqat Begam, and Pokhráj, employed on duties within and without the palace, and others on her establishment as heads of offices, bankers and assayers employed in her treasury, and superintendents of her carriage-houses and elephant stalls, persons employed in one capacity or another, in all about one thousand souls, were dependent upon her bounty. Then there were her collectors on her jágírs, who managed for her parganas Bihár, 'Aliganj, Bahutá, Begamganj and Ráeganj.

A second was the Jináb-i-'Áliya Muta'áliya Nawáb Bahu Begam, Shujá'u'ddaulah's widow, who held as her private estate large maháls, such as Salon, Simrautá, Mohanganj, Já'ís, Korá, Parsidhipur, Rúkha, Althá, and zila's, such as Mírganj, Sindh, Ghoriábád, Nawábganj, Garhaiya, Fursatganj, and Banaura on the south, Nawábganj on the north, Tándah on the east and Isma'ílganj near Lucknow on the west, and the *Ghalladágh* and *Fatahdágh*, and another Isma'ílganj near Yahiyáganj and Wazírganj, which was situated between Mohán and Lucknow, and Unám Khássh and Begam Bári. Among her eunuchs were—(1) The Nawáb Názir, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who loved power and position, retinue and followers, who administered the southern maháls and had some other miscellaneous duties besides, and there were eight or ten thousand men of all degrees under him in various capacities: (2) Bahár 'Ali Khán, who had charge of Tándah and of Nawábganj on the north side of the Ghágra, and entertained three hundred sepoys in addition to armed process-servers employed in revenue collection on his maháls: (3) Shikoh 'Ali Khán, who held Isma'ílganj near Lucknow and had a company of regulars:

(4) Basant 'Ali Khán, governor of Begam Bári, with whom were ten or twenty sepoys. Other eunuchs such as Mián Idrák, Firásat, 'Aqalmand, Yáqútkháni, 'Aqalmand Kaptán, Mián Khúram, and Nikhat, Suhail, Páráb 'Ali Khán, Mián Tarb, Najábat, Khushdil, Yáqút, Khurshed, Sakháwat, Bashárat, Rozafzún, Zamurrad Mujalli,* Zamurrad Darbári, Khush-chashm, Zu'lfaqár, Mián Daulat, 'Ishrat, and others, were entertained for various offices within and without the palace. There were also servants attached to the elephant stalls, the stables and coach-houses, house-servants, messengers, slaves, mace-bearers, accountants, and artisans attached to the factories.

A third was Bani Khánam Sháhiba, Najmu'ddaulah's wife, who drew five thousand rupees from the local government, and also had private savings of her own to spend. She had guards, an escort, and many relatives whom she supported. A fourth was Nawáb Zafaru'ddaulah, eldest son of Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán. A fifth wās Sarkár Husen 'Ali Khán, who was reputed son-in-law of the Nawáb Begam. By the continued residence of these nobles, the splendour of Faizábád was still undiminished; and when Mírza Muhammad Naqí and Mírza Muhammad Naṣír took up their residence here, some others obtained a livelihood through them. And then there were the establishments of other noble matrons, such as Hinga Begam, Bándi Begam, Ámina Begam, and of the sons of Burhānu'l-mulk's chief wife, besides the wives and sons of Nawáb Muhammad Quli Khán Shahíd. The people of the city, owing to the large demand created by these numbers, imported all kinds of goods with feelings of assurance: and they sold them among these households and establishments, and lived prosperously.

* Should probably be Mahali as opposed to Darbári following.

Although the shops of traders and artisans were not to any great extent deserted, yet the houses of the cavalry officers and the cantonments, which formed a large part of the city, were forsaken and became ruined. The landholders round about, finding the land unoccupied, broke it up into fields and cultivated it as before, and cultivators' houses began to spring up among the fields. Were any one, who had left the city shortly after Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, to return a few years later, it would seem to him almost a desert. Thus the city remained for seven years.

There was in Bani Khánam's house a young woman

First rupture, unimportant and unexpected, between Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bani Khánam.

named Núr Jahán, daughter of a waiting woman, and Bani Khánam had given her in marriage to Mír Muhammad Saláh, a Saiyad, the son of the tutor whom she employed for her sons. This young man was ignorant, ugly, foolish, empty-headed, easy going, and his wife was wise, quick-witted, presumptuous, and stubborn, and held her husband lighter than the servants. She resented being called his wife and kept him at a distance. When she was invested with the superior charge of the Khánam's private purse, jewels, and other departments, she withdrew herself wholly from her husband and she would not even see him. Ághá 'Ali Khán, Bani Khánam's full brother, being house-steward to his sister, fell in love with Núr Jahán, and went so far that people began to talk scandal about their illicit love, until Sájida Khánam, a servant of Bani Khánam's, and mother-in-law of Mírza Shekhá, one of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's intimates, having been turned out for some secret grudge, came helpless to Mírza Shekhá's house and represented her poverty and complained of Núr Jahán's misconduct. Mírza Shekhá had to wait for a long time

to avenge himself on Núr Jahán. Now it happened, that 'Ali Beg K̄hán's hammám* was close to Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán's house, and adjoined Ághá 'Ali K̄hán's house. Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán had from time to time repaired the ruined or damaged buildings of this hammám, and Ághá 'Ali K̄hán was afraid that Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán might lay claim to the hammám and take possession of it. So at night he gave instructions to his men, broke all the window-panes, undid all the repairs, and rendered the building useless. This act was very offensive to Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán. When Mírza Shekhá observed Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán thirsting for revenge, he sent for Muhammad Saláh, Núr Jahán's husband, who was at his wit's end, and said to him in private, "You are a wonderfully shameless and unjealous fellow, for Ághá 'Ali has your wife and you are doing nothing." He replied "I am a weak and wealthless man, and my enemy is both strong and wealthy. Can a straw fight a mountain?" "Write," said the other, "a petition to the Bahu Begam disclosing the facts, and present it through Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán. He will protect you in every way and will even get you a monthly allowance." A strong pledge was given, and Muhammad Saláh employed me secretly to write his petition, and he signed it. Mírza Shekhá also instructed him to apply to the Qázi of the city. The Qázi came and said, "I have little power. How can I contend against Bani K̄hánam's brother?" A hint was given to the Qázi that he would be supported. One night Jawáhir 'Ali K̄hán read the petition to the Bahu Begam and told her the whole story. Though the Begam was fond of Bani K̄hánam, she was very angry at Ághá 'Ali K̄hán's

* Hammám is a house fitted up as a bath.

misconduct. She ordered the case to be laid before the Qázi, and said the petitioner should let the Musalmáns of the city know about his case and gain their support, "but," she added, "I will not be Bani Khánam's abettor in this matter of Muslim law." Strange to say, Bani Khánam had not the slightest information of this move from first to last: and, although Ághá 'Ali Khán heard rumours of it, he did not believe them.

When the day arrived that they had fixed on for carrying off Núr Jahán from Bani Khánam's residence, Muhammad Saláh went first of all to the Qázi and complained. The Qázi came and took his seat at 'Ali Beg Khán's mosque. Bashárat and Sa'ádat, two of the Bahu Begam's eunuchs, attended at the mosque by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's order to support the Qázi. The Qázi sent a verbal order to Bani Khánam requiring her to deliver Núr Jahán to her husband, who had lodged a complaint before him, under penalty of a general assault in case of non-compliance. The Khánam, who was wholly ignorant of the plot, was completely taken aback, and said, "How has Muhammad Saláh grown so bold? Maybe, the Qázi is mad. They are both my servants and I am my own mistress." She ignored the order. The eunuchs returned and told the Qázi, who raised the cry, "Dín-i-Muhammad. Let Muhammadans stand by me!" The servants, mainly of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, a thousand or two thousand men, who had on black uniform, threw off their coloured clothes, put on white, raised banners on their shoulders, and came up in crowds from various sides, crying, "Dín! Dín!" At another side Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was holding court with a crowd of foot-soldiers in attendance, and landlords and their relations and brothers.

Some three hundred people were there. These too came, with swords and shields, and joined the Qází. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, one of the Nawáb Begam's eunuchs, also came up with forty or fifty men to help the Qází. A vast concourse of spectators, both Musalmáns and Hindús, came together. The whole mass moved with a united rush to Bani Khánam's gate. The street was narrow and the throng was so great that the men could not use their swords and shields, and were obliged to hold them aloft over their heads. The Khánam's sepoy, who were about a hundred and fifty, fled from the gate, fearing for their lives. The eunuchs came out from the private rooms, lifted Núr Jahán in their arms, placed her in a paltry litter, threw a sheet around it, and brought her out carried by two bearers, and lodged her in Khúram the eunuch's house. Aghá 'Ali Khán was lying hid in his house, which was behind Bani Khánam's mansion. The crowd dispersed. The Qází received a shawl in compliment from Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, and Muhammad Saláh was given fifty rupees to meet pressing claims. Núr Jahán proved so wanton and impudent that, notwithstanding this great riot, she loudly abused Muhammad Saláh, and cared nothing for the crowd.

After a few days she was removed from Khúram's house to another building near 'Ambar 'Ali Khán's stable, where Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's horses and grooms were located, and she lived here with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's permission. She now made a show of reconciliation in order to deceive her husband, and feigned so deep an affection for him, and was so successful in her show, that his suspicions were completely lulled, and he began to believe that she was really in love with him. As luck would have it, there was in the top

storey of this building on the west side a window, and on the same side on the top of the hammám, which had led to all the trouble, there was a wooden screen. Here Ághá 'Ali Khán made it his practice to sit. He removed a plank and used to converse with her by signs, while on her side Núr Jahán opened the window and complained of the pangs of separation. This went on every day.

Mír Ghulám Imám, the Faujdár of Salon, happened to come into Faizábád and put up in the chamber over the gate leading into 'Ambar 'Ali Khán's thatched house. As this room was opposite those other two buildings, he saw the game that was going on. He told me, and I told Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. The grooms were ordered to prevent her opening the window, and to watch her. When an end was put to these interviews, which had been their mutual solace, Núr Jahán represented to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, through Muhammad Saláh, how she was alone in that house, and Muhammad Saláh was mostly absent in attendance on him, and she had no one to speak to, and she earnestly entreated him to allow some woman, a resident of the city who had an attachment for her, to come occasionally to cheer her up. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán gave permission. Accordingly a covered litter came every now and then and left after two or three days. The grooms were thus thrown off their guard. She then resorted to another contrivance and joined interest with Mírza Shekhá to obtain employment for his mother-in-law, whose dismissal had been the root of all this quarrel, and sent him word that, if by his aid she could effect her return to Bani Khánám, she would procure service for his mother-in-law with increased wages. Mírza Shekhá went to her house

one night, and a solemn engagement was entered into between them. Núr Jahán then sent word to Ághá 'Ali Khán that she had effected a compromise between her husband and Mírza Shekhá, and asked him to tell the Khánam to send for her. Ághá 'Ali Khán first conciliated Muhammad Saláh with a monthly allowance of twenty rupees, and then conveyed the message to the Khánam. Two motives acted on Bani Khánam: first, Núr Jahán was her private factotum and gave her entire satisfaction, whereas her successor did not please her and caused her discomfort; secondly, she had felt Núr Jahán's forcible removal an insult and wanted revenge. She went to the Bahu Begam's palace and remained there for two or three days. On the fourth day she broached the subject and said that Muhammad Saláh was the son of a slave of hers, and he had consented to Núr Jahán's returning to her, and she added that he was at the gate. The fact was that Muhammad Saláh had disappeared some ten or twelve days before from Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's, and no one knew anything about him, what us up, and why he did not return. Bahár 'Ali Khán was at this time for some reason displeased with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and he had also sided with Bani Khánam, and he used to venture opinions favorable to the latter in the Begam's presence. The Begam now gave the permission which Núr Jahán's husband asked for, saying that, if he was satisfied, he might keep her where he pleased: that he was her master. There was a carriage at the Begam's gate and the infantry escort was in waiting. It began to rain. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was sitting after evening prayer, and I was in attendance on him. In came a groom from the stables and announced that Núr Jahán

had fled; that the grooms had taken her for the friend who used to come occasionally to see her; but that when they went into the house they found no one there. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán ordered them to bring her back, and spoke loosely to Mírza Shekhá, who happened to come in, and said, "The care that Her Highness the Begam took for Allah's sake of the seed of the Prophet will have its reward: let her do as she pleases now, but let us exert ourselves." Then he despatched his sepoy and spies to hunt for her, and find out where she had gone. Hundreds were spread through the city for this purpose. While this was going on, a foot-guard stationed at the Begam's gate announced that Núr Jahán had entered the palace about half an hour before, and that Bani Khánam was now about to drive her off with her in her carriage to her house. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was still more highly enraged on hearing this, and told his sepoy to prevent their departure; and, if Bani Khánam passed by the walls of his house, to put their hands fearlessly into her carriage, drag Núr Jahán out, and bring her in to him amid all the rain, lightning, and thunder. Hundreds of irregulars were stationed in every street. Bani Khánam, when she heard this, was in a fix, for she could not go, and it was not well to remain: so she spoke to the Begam, who sent a eunuch to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, saying, "What has come over you that you stop the way? Drop your foolish determination." Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was so carried away by the heat of passion and by overwhelming rage that he was reckless of his life itself, and, quite forgetting the relation of master and servant, he returned no answer to this message; but (after the messenger left) he again charged his

sepoys not to leave their posts even should he order them, and to stop the carriage, and to say that they did not care for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán or for their employment; that they were Musalmáns and their creed was the Muslim; that they would soon join in a general rising, snatch the lawful wife of a Saiyad from her paramour and give her to her husband; "the observance of our faith demands that, though we be slain, Saiyada should live with her Saiyad." As the other eunuchs had not a sufficient armed force to face Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's men and remove them, the Begam continued constantly sending her eunuchs to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, while he returned no answer and only fumed with rage. After a protracted interchange of messages it was agreed that, if Muhammad Saláh would come himself, and say that he had got his wife and would now keep her wherever he pleased, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán would raise no objection and would let her go. When Muhammad Saláh heard this, the people warned him not to go or he would be killed. He fled for his life to a dark and narrow house where he hid himself. The more they searched the more hopeless was their hunt for him. After a long search they discovered him in the gong-striker's house, and dragged him to the gate. He said, "For God's sake, don't take me before Jawáhir 'Ali Khán." He sat in a litter borne by bearers with a curtain thrown over his face. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who was as usual passing the night within the Begam's harem, came out and went to the gate. Muhammad Saláh said aloud, "God save your honour, I have got my wife by your help, and now I wish her to remain with Bani Khánam, my old benefactress." As he uttered these words, an appalling peal of thunder was

heard, and a bolt of lightning fell to earth, which stunned the bearers. Jawáhir 'Ali sent and ordered his men to withdraw and clear the road. Bani Khánam returned to her house with Núr Jahán and rejoiced in her success.

A cavalry officer died and a Mewáti named Mamrez Khán, a companion of 'Ali Beg

Another riotous occurrence within the city.

Khán, was appointed by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán in his place, and he was stationed at Salon with twenty-five horse and seven hundred foot. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death he went to Lucknow, but seeing the changes for the worse caused by Ásafu'ddaulah's apathy, he returned to Faizábád and, entering the Bahu Begam's service, was placed over a hundred and fifty men on guard at the palace gate and round the building. The rest of his old troop were detached for duty under revenue collectors in the Begam's maháls. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán out of kindness gave him a female elephant to ride, and every month used to give him a shawl and other presents to mark his dignity until his importance became doubled. Two others of his clan were employed as non-commissioned officers: Ghási Khán, who was in the Nawáb Begam's service in command of one hundred men, and Bhúre Khán, who had a like number under Bahár 'Ali Khán's orders in the Bahu Begam's service. These two men were exceedingly jealous of Mamrez Khán and desired to overthrow him somehow or other. It happened that a sepoy named Shaháb Khán obtained two months' leave of absence from Mamrez Khán and went to his home. He returned after a year and demanded pay. Mamrez Khán gave him two months' pay and dismissed him. When Mamrez Khán went with

Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali to Salon, Shaháb Ḳhán obtained through Yár 'Ali, a protégé of Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán's, re-employment at the head of fifty Mewátis. He had been cherishing resentment against Mamrez Ḳhán and he now joined cause with Ghási Ḳhán and Bhúre Ḳhán, and eagerly bent himself to compass Mamrez Ḳhán's ruin. His caste-brothers were posted at Simrautá, a mabál in the Bahu Begam's jágir. He entertained some four of them, and they and he remained constantly ready in attendance on Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán when he appeared in public. In this way he gained his heart. He tried, when Mamrez Ḳhán returned from Salon, to entangle him by various pretences right or wrong, but Mamrez Ḳhán, seeing through him, avoided him. One day they met in Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán's presence and Shaháb Ḳhán made use of language disrespectful to Mamrez Ḳhán. I remarked to Mamrez Ḳhán, "What are you good for that, considering your position, you talk to a ranker "Who used to carry your shoes only yesterday?" As luck would have it, that very night, when Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán was in his palankeen going to the ladies' quarters, and a hundred and fifty sepoys and servants were with him, while Lá,iq 'Ali was supporting a hindfoot of the palankeen and Mamrez Ḳhán a forefoot, and Shaháb was going along in front of them both, Lá,iq 'Ali's foot tripped on a stone and he was near falling. While trying to recover himself he placed his hand on Mamrez Ḳhán's back. The latter, who was running, could not resist the pressure of the hand and check himself, and he was compelled to put his hand on Shaháb Ḳhán's waist. Shaháb Ḳhán looked behind, went on a few paces, and then lifted his sword and said, "I can wield "my sword to cleave a man in two from head to waist

"like a cucumber." Jawáhir 'Ali Khán sternly rebuked him, made him drop out of the escort, went on to the gate and entered the palace.

Five or six of Mamrez Khán's familiar friends, tried and trusty, who were always with him, said to him, "This sweeper of a Mewáti, who was in your service and use to lift your shoes, now that he has got the command of fifty men is so bold as to draw his sword in your face. As he has been so very daring in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's presence, it is best that you should kill him at once." It was agreed on among them at the Begam's gate that they should waylay him on his return, but Sewá Khán, Mamrez Khán's sister's son, who was very young and had an affection for Shaháb Khán, whispered to him to go home at once alone, and Shaháb Khán, mingling with the escort, who were about a hundred in number, reached his house by another road.

Mamrez Khán never did anything without consulting me, but that night he did not ask my advice for fear I should not approve of his resolution, and, if I opposed him, he knew he would have to offend me, for the deed would have to be done. It was usual with him to come to my quarters every night before he left for his home, and tell me all about what happened during the escort and before and after. That night he went contrary to his custom straight to his own quarters, taking with him his friends, fully determined to kill Shaháb Khán, and he selected for this purpose trusted men, who had been tried before in affairs requiring boldness and daring.

As for Shaháb Khán, he said to four of his men in Yúsuf 'Ali Khán's courtyard, "If our master had not

"been there to-night, I should have killed Mamrez Khán, but he had a little while left to live. • I fancy "he has been so frightened by my sword that he won't "dare to face me." He went at once to Ghási Khán, a servant of the Nawáb Begam's, and Bhúre Khán, one of Bahár 'Ali Khán's servants, and told them what had occurred. They fell in with his proposals and urged him on, saying, "We two have three hundred men "between us, and we join you; tackle him boldly and "throw him. It is an old saying, 'Peace after war.' "There will be a deal to say on both sides and we will "have our say." As death was about to lay his hand upon Shaháb Khán's head, he had become thoughtless and incautions. He was compassing Mamrez Khán's destruction without any justification. He said, "I'll "make haste and dispose of him to-morrow, let come "what will." Both parties thus spent the whole night awake, maturing their plans.

When the sun rose, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán issued from the palace, and, after his morning devotions, went to 'Ali Beg Khán's hammám, which was behind his mansion, and began to bathe. Mamrez Khán used to come every morning with his son, a small child, from Muhammad Ilich Khán's house, where he lived, to pay court to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and wait for the purpose. This morning, when he was on his way, he saw the Khán's palankeen at the door of the hammám and a large retinue standing by. He stopped too with the seven or eight men who were accompanying him, when suddenly Shaháb Khán, who was exercising himself on the roof of Yúsuf 'Ali Khán's house, saw him, stopped, put on his clothes, armed himself, and came down with four men. Then, brandishing his sword in his right hand

and holding out his shield on his left, he fixed his bloody eyes steadily on Mamrez Khán's face. Mamrez Khán's companions stepped forward and were going to remove Shaháb Khán, but Mamrez Khán signed to them to refrain, and addressed his enemy: "Shaháb Khán, last night I could not help laying my hand on your back to prevent my falling, but this was not any fault to justify your laying your hand on your sword in our master's presence and using unbecoming language." "Last night," said the other, "you got off; if you do the like again, I'll send you to hell with one cut of my sword." Just then there was a move, as Jawáhir 'Ali was coming, and they stopped and prepared to salute him. He came out, entered his palankeen, and Mamrez Khán, laying his hand on a corner of the conveyance, went on with him, mute and silent as if nothing had happened. Shaháb Khán followed with Mamrez Khán's attendants, maintaining a loud and angry altercation with them. Jawáhir 'Ali was extremely displeased with his boldness and determined to sternly reprimand him when he reached his house. Meanwhile ten or twenty of Mamrez Khán's followers, who were stationed on guard at the Begam's private rooms, came up one by one to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's gate and stood there scattered about. Nobody knew what their intention was in coming there until the palankeen and escort had arrived within the gate. The bearers set the palankeen down on the ground and the cry of "bismillah!" rose from the escort. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was sitting alone reading the Qurán at a door in the side of the bárahdari. I was sitting in the middle of the bárahdari near the Khán's state cushion chatting with Mírza Shekhá. I noticed that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had come into

the courtyard, that Mamrez Khán was with him, and that there was a great noise and tumult at the gate. Jawáhir 'Ali paused awhile at the spot which he had reached. There had been ill-feeling for some time between Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's and Bahár 'Ali Khán's sepoy, and both sides were ready for a fight: they had provided themselves with powder and ball and were biding their time from day to day. I thought Bahár 'Ali Khán's sepoy must surely have come and begun the fight. We three got up in excitement and asked the servants for swords and shields. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán retreated and stood at his door. In this short space 'Ali Sher, a sepoy seventy years of age, went up behind Shaháb Khán, threw his arms round his waist, and held him so fast that he could not move. Another sepoy came and dealt Shaháb Khán two blows, one on the shoulder and the other on his waist, and felled him to the ground. As Sher 'Ali's hands were clasped round Shaháb Khán's waist, three of his fingers went with the corpse to earth. One of Shaháb Khán's four sepoy who drew his sword was also killed. A second soon shared his fate. A third was wounded but escaped with his life, falling on the dead. The fourth fled. All the murderers ran off like lightning, joined their comrades at the Begam's gate, and began to smoke. In the general confusion no one knew who they were; but the eunuch novices, macebearers, house-servants, and regulars of the escort, who were still at the main-door, raised a cry that Mamrez Khán had been killed. I said, "Mamrez Khán was with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. "How he can have been killed, I don't see." Some ten or twenty regulars took up their swords and shields and wished to take revenge because the Mewátis had

been guilty of extreme disrespect; in the first place, by fighting while on escort duty, and in the next place, by displaying their foolhardiness at their master's gate. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán ordered them to remain where they were. After a few minutes, when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had returned from the main door and was standing at the middle door of the bárahdari, and Mamrez Khán was standing below him in a dry tank, the whole concourse that was outside, about four hundred people, rushed in without permission, and other servants who had heard of the disturbance and received various reports about it, also came in fully armed. The whole courtyard of the mansion, spacious as it was, was filled with men. Every one was crying out, "Ha! kill Mamrez Khán," and shouting recklessly whatever came to his lips.

I had a great friendship for Mamrez Khán. As I was now superintendent of the Begam's private treasury and her correspondent, two companies of regulars, whose officer, the eunuch 'Aqalmand, had deserted and gone to the west, were now under me: and, as I was the medium of disbursements, all the Begam's employés were much under my influence. Not a word escaped my lips good or bad about Mamrez Khán. At one time my heart prompted me to say something concurring with the crowd, and again, when I thought of our friendship, my tongue failed me. If I had spoken a word, it is likely that each member of the crowd would have thrown a handful of earth upon him. I was heartily sorry that he had been guilty of a crime which admitted of no effort or entreaty of mine on his behalf. What was to be done to save him? Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was for a long time silent. At last he ordered me to

bury the dead in the clothes they were wearing, and to carry the wounded man into his house, foment him and dress his wounds. He went himself to see the Begam. She inquired what caused the disturbance. He told her that the two men had formerly quarrelled in their native place about the marriage of the daughter of one with the son of the other, and this quarrel had broken out afresh here.

Next day Jawáhir 'Ali Khán told me to demand the murderers from Mamrez Khán's party and place them in confinement. Four men were brought and I made them over to my regulars. One of them was that Dhaníyán Khán Mewáti, who had risen in Asafu'd-daulah's time to the command of 10,000 men at Lucknow, and was so proud that he carried his head higher than everyone else. When I was conveying the four of them to the jail, he was more terror-stricken and frightened than the others and fell at my feet. Although I tried to reassure him, he could not pluck up courage. After a week Bhikhári Khán, son of Shaháb Khán's uncle, who had command of fifty men at Simrautá, came with his men and demanded his cousin's blood. He was emboldened by the support of Ghási Khán and Bhúre Khán. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán told him that the four murderers were forthcoming and under arrest; to seek revenge if he thought right; but, if he were generous and humane, to forgive if he could, for killing others would not restore his brother's life: and he also offered him by way of blood-ransom a thousand rupees and a complimentary robe and a command of five hundred mounted men in his own service, which would raise him to a good position. The fool did not see that a great and noble man was seeking to console and provide for

him. He persisted in his clamour for blood, saying, "I don't want money or a robe. Give me Mamrez Khán and his young son of ten years, and let me take their lives for my brother's life. The rule of our faith, that the principle of killing in retaliation does not apply to him who merely orders another's death, is right enough: but Yazíd it was who caused Imám Husen's death. He hadn't the courage to kill him himself, why is it then that people curse him?" The Khán replied: "No one killed Yazíd. If that's all you have to say, curse Mamrez Khán." Once more he urged, "Let your honour, who does what is just and right, allow us to meet; let us go outside the city and fight, leaving the issue to God." Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said, "I dismiss you both from my service. Do as your heart prompts you. I now order my outrunners and macebearers to turn you both off my premises and out of the city, but I impose this condition. I allow all the Mewátis who like to come together and take either side, but if any others, such as regulars and irregulars, join either of you, I shall send two pieces of artillery and all my armed force to support the other."

The reason of his imposing this condition was as follows. There was another Ghási Khán, a Mewátí, besides that Ghási Khán already mentioned, who was in the Nawáb Begam's service. He was a Mewátí by birth and was the adopted son of Dáráb Khán, Mewátí, a corporal, who had been appointed in Shujá'u'ddaulah's time by Asafu'ddaulah to the command of a company of irregulars under the orders of the government representative at Nauráhi. He also had, in his hate for Mamrez Khán, sent Bhikhári Khán word that he was coming

up to his support with a body of irregulars. The inexperienced noodle had conceived this plan: that he would stand on the roof of Yúsuf 'Ali Kẖán's house with fifty men with loaded muskets; that, of course, Mamrez Kẖán would pass out under the heraldic gate of the fort when about to leave the city, and would be off his guard, expecting the fight to take place outside the city; that he would fire a volley at him from the housetop, and there would be great bloodshed in the very thoroughfare. He thought that the people of the city would have come out armed to see what was going on that day, and that they would hold him to be in the right and Mamrez Kẖán to be in the wrong, and take his part: and also that, as soon as they heard the report of muskets, Bhúre Kẖán, Bahár 'Ali Kẖán's servant, would come from the north, and Ghási Kẖán, Muharram 'Ali Kẖán's servant, from the south, and the populace from other sides, close in round Mamrez Kẖán and his companions and hunt them to death, like hounds that hem in a fox.

Mamrez Kẖán was wise and lucky too. He knew the game that was being played. He took one hundred and fifty men, a few of them cavalry, but most of them infantry and herald-minstrels, who had entered service at the same time with him; placed them in front, marched past Bahár 'Ali Kẖán's door and the Begam's kitchen, left the fort by the east gate known as the Khirkí, then going through the cross-roads near Mír Ahmad's and on towards Himmat Bahádur's cantonment, and passing through the Bhíkhápur turnpike at the south-east corner of the outer city wall, stood ready for fight in the mango groves outside, and addressed his companions: "You know that I am a man of substance.

“Though Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán has discharged you, I shall give you your pay from my own purse. To-day is a day that calls for bravery and daring. Quit yourselves like men.”

Bhikhári Khán's confidence had been misplaced and his supporters were wavering. They said: “We have been dismissed, and, as you are going to fight and be killed, from whom shall we get our pay and on what mahál can you give us an assignment? Perhaps you can pay us.” He could only answer them: “You know that I am a paid servant like yourselves and I have no private means, but if you will gird yourselves to the occasion and stand by me in this difficulty, your name will go down to posterity.” They replied: “We are not tired of life and we are not so hard up as to want to die.” Then he sent a message to Bhúre Khán: “Now is the time to join me; what are you waiting for?” The answer made was: “I am Bahár ‘Ali Khán's servant and I am not allowed.” He became dazed and was stupefied and silent.

Mamrez Khán sent word to Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán that he had come out and had been waiting from dawn till a watch of day had passed, but his enemy was still at home. The macebearers went to Bhikhári Khán with orders, telling him he had no right to remain on their master's premises and he must quit at once. There was no help for it: so he went out weeping and disheartened and appealed to Ghási Khán, who joined him with ten or twenty men. About seventy people from the city joined them. They set out slowly and reluctantly. There was great commotion in the city. Shopkeepers and dealers closed their shops, joined the rest

of the citizens who were flocking to look on, and crowded on the top of the breastworks of the city walls to watch what happened. When Bhikhári Khán passed outside the walls, he looked round, and not a single supporter did he see except Ghási Khán with his twenty men. The Nawáb Begam heard of this and she told Muharram 'Ali Khán that she had now dismissed Ghási Khán because, being her servant, he had gone out without permission. The minute Ghási Khán heard this, he turned back. Although Bhikhári Khán placed his turban at his feet and besought him not to leave him, he gave no answer, but took the road to the city. Bhikhári Khán stood alone in the field till evening. After sunset he came and fell at Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's doorstep, and said: "I have given up revenge and have "pardoned: give me the thousand rupees, the robe, "and the command of five hundred. I was led away "by the promptings of some short-sighted fools and "played a losing game." I was told to tell him, "Your "chance is gone. Now, seek your remedy from those "who misled you. Leave my door, and never dare to "come here again." Crushed and disappointed, he turned away in tears and threw himself into a corner of Yúnus 'Ali Khán's Sarái.

Mamrez Khán remained outside on the plain for three days. The Bahu Begam then said to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán that she had paid away three laks of rupees to Mamrez Khán in wages during his service, and she had never found him at fault, and she bid him recall him and retain him in service as before at the palace. When this order was announced, the very people who had on the first day shouted "Down with him! kill him!" and the other people of the city, all went out

to receive him and escorted him in great triumph. This row had lasted for seventeen days. It occurred in 1194 A.H. [1780 A.D.] in Rab' u'ssani. For a year and nine months more the city and people enjoyed rest, security, and prosperity, until unexpectedly and suddenly a great change happened on the 26th Muharram 1196 A.H. [11th January, 1782 A.D.].

When Shujá'u'ddaulah, having settled the affairs of the Ruhela Afgháns according to his wishes, returned to Oudh, he came to Lucknow on the 2nd Ramzán, and left it on the 8th of Shawwál for Faizábád, which he reached on the 12th idem. He died on the 23rd Zíqá'd following. Mukhtáru'ddaulah then upset in one year the system of government which Shujá'u'ddaulah had spent ten years in forming. He then died. All Asafu'ddaulah's lifetime this disintegration continued owing to his negligence and apathy. This has been already noted. After Mukhtáru'ddaulah's death Muhammad Ilij Khán came from Sháhjahánábád, and was created minister. He endeavoured to restore system, but after six months and some days he died of kidney disease. Asafu'ddaulah could not get on without a minister and now looked around for another. At Nawáb Sálár Jang's suggestion, he pitched upon Almás 'Ali Khán. This Khán was a man of small ambition and used to look at all sides of an affair. He privately pointed out to the Nawáb that he was already farmer of maháls yielding ten millions of rupees: whatever sum he engaged for, he paid into the treasury and he had no care or worry: were he to become minister, what with the dealings with the Company, the paying of the two brigades, and the improper requests of the Nawáb

Wazír, and tips to orderlies, and so on, he would be unequal to the burdens of the office: but, he said, there was Haidar Beg Khán, who was most astute in counsel and unequalled in diplomacy, and he was out of employ: that it was better the Nawáb Wazír should appoint him with Mr. John Bristow's concurrence. As fortune favoured Haidar Beg Khán, he was raised to this dignity after an interchange of views which lasted a few days. For three years, during which the nobles and courtiers paid him no regard and were un-submissive, he conducted himself with patience and forbearance, and all the time strove to please Asafu'ddawlah and the Company, until he gained a secure place in their confidence and he felt his position firm, and then he became overweening. He first became entangled with Almás 'Ali Khán, who had a vast estate and a large force and maintained an independent attitude. The latter had been accustomed to take advantage of the Nawáb Wazír's ignorance of affairs, and to conspire with the accountants and comptrollers, and obtain a remission of as much as seven or eight laks of the amount for which he had engaged from year to year, on lax and unjustifiable pleas, such as that an army of Sikhs had overrun the districts which he held, or that in a certain tract the crops had been damaged by hail or by frost. The same practice continued for three years during Haidar Beg Khán's time. In 1194 A.H. [1780 A.D.], Haidar Beg Khán silenced him with clear proofs and decisive arguments, and demanded seven laks of rupees. Reply was vain and he had to pay. He writhed under this, and in his mortification and chagrin he threw his turban at Nawáb Sálár Jang's feet and determined to effect Haidar Beg Khán's dismissal.

- He soon after contrived an opportunity by an invitation to an entertainment at Nawáb Sálár Jang's house, of addressing the Nawáb Wazír, and he then said: "I am an hereditary servant of your family. All that I have amassed and produced I keep as a trust and deposit in my care for Your Highness. This Haidar Beg Khán is a Kábuli, and he cherishes a deadly grudge against your family because his elder brother was killed by Shujá'u'ddaulah. By and by he will develope difficulties which it will be impossible to remove. It is advisable that you should nominate to his office Nawáb Sálár Jang, your maternal uncle, who is truer to you than father or mother. I hold already half the súbah and by Your Highness' favour I shall manage the other half for him." The simple Nawáb unhesitatingly assented. Almás 'Ali Khán went on: "Perhaps Your Highness has forgotten that after Mukhtáru'ddaulah's death it was agreed between Your Highness and the Governor that, if you wished to change your minister, it should not be done without giving notice and consultation. It is incumbent first to send word to Calcutta and take the opinion of the Governor. Besides it would strengthen your case, if the Bahu Begam were to write a hint to the Governor." The Nawáb Wazír approved the scheme.

Almás 'Ali Khán returned to Itáwah: and after a month the Nawáb Wazír and Nawáb Sálár Jang came to Faizábád together, unfolded the proposal to the Bahu Begam, and nominated Bahár 'Ali Khán for this mission. They then returned to Lucknow using every effort to conceal this plan. It was the middle of the rainy season. When the rains ended and the water subsided, Bahár 'Ali Khán gave out that he was going to Tándah,

two stages west of Faizábád, in the Bahu Begam's jágir, with which he was connected, and began preparations for his journey to Calcutta. Nishát 'Ali Khán, a eunuch who was envious of the power of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán, and was always prying into their secrets, and used to send minute information to Sarfarázu'ddaulah, now wrote a brief note to him, that the Nawáb Wazír and Nawáb Sálár Jang were concocting something, but he did not know what it was. Following on this, it leaked out, from Bahár 'Ali Khán, perhaps, or some of his companions, that his destination was Calcutta. This conflicted with the former rumour.

One night Jawáhir 'Ali Khán sent for me, handed me the articles of agreement between Bahár 'Ali Khán's interview with Governor Hastings. Mukhtáru'ddaulah and Mr. John Bristow, and told me to sit down in a corner and have them copied out by Munshí Lachmi Naráyan. I did not know the reason of this, but when I went once to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán alone, Mírza Ahmad 'Ali Kaptán, one of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's servants, came and sat down, and said aloud that Bahár 'Ali Khán was going to Calcutta. The Khán remained silent, not even saying Yes or No. I concluded that this was the reason of copying the documents. A week later Bahár 'Ali Khán set out, halted for some days at Tándah, and after a long journey arrived at Calcutta. He took a few curios as presents with him, which were not adequate to the Governor's rank. The first day the Governor sent him a thousand rupees for his entertainment and hired a house at some hundred rupees, where he lodged him. Two or three days after, he was admitted to an interview. When he came in to Governor

Hastings' presence, he saw a curtain rolled up on the door of the room. The Governor told them to open it. They unrolled it. Shujá'u'ddaulah's picture was embroidered on it. Bahár 'Ali Khán rose, bowed to it, and gave way to tears. The Governor said, "Since the day that man died, my peace of mind is gone." The Governor's wife was playing with some kittens near him. She had placed pearls, worth many a thousand rupees, in a large bowl, and she was throwing the kittens in upon them. They could not climb out for when they tried to stand up, the pearls slipped under their feet. She was a long time at the sport. In her ears were eardrops each worth fifty thousand rupees. In the face of what he saw, Bahár 'Ali Khán hesitated to produce his own presents, but he presented a costly saddle which Nawáb Sálár Jang had sent and some precious stones which the Bahu Begam had given from her own treasury, and also some phials of 'itr. When the Governor saw these presents he told him to take them away: adding, "Four Members of Council are gone away and the two who are here have a grudge against me. They are trying day and night to trip me up and disgrace me. In London, which is our capital, there will be a report that presents worth ten millions of rupees have come from Faizábád; and what the facts are, you see. The 'itr, certainly, I shall accept, for 'itr is always coming to me from the Begam through 'Ali Akbar Khán." Bahár 'Ali Khán said out: "'Ali Akbar Khán is a mischief-maker and pretender. He may have said that he is the Begam's agent, merely to gain a footing, but he is telling lies. The Begam never appointed him her agent and never sent any 'itr." The Governor ordered that when

'Ali Akbar Khán came again he should not be admitted, and that the three hundred rupees monthly salary assigned him should at once be stopped.

'Ali Akbar Khán was a fine-looking man with a Full account of 'Ali Akbar Khán. melodious voice, a plausible tongue, and a good presence, corpulent, and well-dressed. He had a few followers and servants, and he kept a female elephant to carry him about. Prior to this, in 1178 A.H. [1764-65 A.D.], when the English first occupied Lucknow and Shujá'u'ddaulah went off to Ruhelkhand, he was for some months Kotwál of Lucknow. He liked the country and the people, and he cherished the hope that he might again obtain employment of some kind from Ásafu'ddaulah. Accordingly he came in the first instance to Lucknow in 1194 A.H. [1780 A.D.], and commenced to pay court to Hasan Razá Khán and Haidar Beg Khán, and he put in a written application for the appointment of Nawáb Wazír's agent at Calcutta. Haidar Beg Khán, who was unequalled in his day for acuteness, read in his face the traits of malice and deceitfulness, ignored his application, but at last gave him an explicit answer and forbid him his presence. Being disappointed of this hope, he went next to Faizábád, and applied for the Bahu Begam's agency at Calcutta. Bahár 'Ali Khán angrily told him that God had spared Ásafu'ddaulah, and the Begam had therefore no need of an agent at Calcutta. He turned as a last resource to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and said nothing more on this score. He posed as a disinterested friend, and as such he got five hundred rupees to help him to meet demands, and a mourning shawl on the occasion of his mother's death at Faizábád, and also another shawl through Jawáhir 'Ali

Khán when he was leaving Faizábád. At last he went back to his native place, which was in the Súbah of Dháka. I knew him; an artful, crafty, and shrewd man; though so utterly without education that he did not even know his alphabet, he kept ten or twenty letters, the contents of which were likely to be useful, from public men in Bengál, in a pocket book which he always carried with him, and he used to pull out every letter and read it off clearly and fluently. A table servant, a native of Oudh, had been in his service for a long time, and it was he who let out the secret of his illiterateness: and so Mírza Shekhá, a friend of the Nawáb Názir's, stationed me on some pretence one day with the Názir's permission bēhind him, and I observed that the wording of the letter was different and its purport quite different to that he was so readily and glibly reciting. In the titles and modes of address and the general style he was never wrong. He was a perfect master of the Persian language. After his return to Calcutta he kept up a friendly private correspondence with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, to make people there believe that he was the Begam's agent, because letters were constantly coming from Faizábád. As it was commonly reported all over Calcutta that he was the Begam's agent, he came boldly to call on Bahár 'Ali Khán and claimed familiarity. Bahár 'Ali Khán asked him how he got his living. "I receive a monthly salary," answered he, "from the Company as an agent." "Whose agent are you?" "The Begam's," said he. "What Begam?" "Your Begam," was the reply. Bahár 'Ali Khán, who had heard all from the Governor, grew angry and said, "When did the Begam appoint you agent, and what business had she here that I did not

"know of, and why should she appoint you direct? "This audacious lying and this indifference to disgrace "and shame are characteristic of you." Silent and ashamed he rose and left; and nursing resentment against Bahár 'Ali Khán, began to seek a means of gratifying it.

To return from this digression. The second enmity which Haidar Beg Khán excited arose as follows:—A Hindú named Ráo Káshi Ráj, who had been, prior to the defeat at Baksar, agent at head-quarters for Beni Bahádur Brahman, Shujá'u'ddaulah's minister, and had acquired the necessary experience in this capacity, had been despatched on Haidar Beg Khán's own selection to Calcutta as Nawáb Wazír's agent at Calcutta. He had been there for some years, but no salary had been sent to him for the last year from Lucknow. He was in straits. He called on Bahár 'Ali Khán, and, after mutual inquiries, he asked for a loan of one thousand rupees. Bahár 'Ali Khán replied: "Put "Haidar Beg Khán and Hasan Razá Khán in my power. "You will then certainly get the money." He too left Bahár 'Ali Khán in chagrin.

A third enmity was as follows. A eunuch named Yáqút was Bahár 'Ali Khán's household steward, and was entrusted with thousands of rupees. Bahár 'Ali Khán intended, on his return to Faizábád, to make up accounts with him and take from him whatever balance he held. When Yáqút discovered this intention, he began to hope that something might occur to frustrate Bahár 'Ali Khán's plans, and render him so occupied with his own safety that he should not have time to interfere with him. He therefore turned unfaithful and

whatever counsels Bahár 'Ali Khán was maturing, he went and told to Káshi Ráj and 'Ali Akbar Khán; and, not satisfied with this, he added some items of his own concoction calculated to injure Bahár 'Ali Khán.

The Begam's messages to the Governor were: (1) that his seal should be affixed to all documents and engagements which had been drawn up in the time of Mukhtáru'ddaulah and Mr. John Bristow, in order to give them full force: (2) that she might go with all her retinue to reside in some place which she liked and the air of which was agreeable to her, either Banáras or 'Azimábád or on her own jágir, and that no person might interfere with her leaving Faizábád: (3) that Ásafu'ddaulah had more than once taken from her part of her privately accumulated treasure with or without her consent, and that thereafter he should have nothing to do with the maháls of her jágir, her money, her eunuchs, and the servants of her household; and she threw out this hint because she was grieved with Ásafu'ddaulah's conduct: (4) the fourth item is already known. Bahár 'Ali Khán represented all these points to the Governor, and they were also set forth in letters. On the first occasion that Bahár 'Ali Khán broached these topics, the Governor replied in terms favourable to the Begam's wishes and endeavoured to encourage her and excite her hopes. Bahár 'Ali Khán wrote an account of all this to the Bahu Begam, and was delighted, until the Governor's agents mentioned money considerations: he then put them off with some answer or other. He was greatly disgusted and waited to receive permission from the Begam on this point. He received from her an answer authorizing him to act as circumstances required. But whatever sum was asked

on the one side, the other sought to reduce. Although Bahár 'Ali Khán was magnanimous and liberally inclined, his adviser at this moment was the perfidious Yáqút, who was bent upon defeating this mission, while Bahár 'Ali Khán was ignorant of his designs. Yáqút was so miserly and grasping that he grudged even cats their meat; with a show of loyalty he advised that the sum should be cut down as low as possible. Accordingly in a few months the figure was reduced from forty to fifteen laks, and yet Yáqút was not satisfied, and the negotiations were unduly protracted. During this long interval, letters from Káshi Ráj and 'Ali Akbar Khán giving full accounts of what they had heard from Yáqút, with some additions of their own, reached Haidar Beg Khán, who was enjoying himself in security at Lucknow. When he perused these letters his countenance fell and he was confounded. He went to Hasan Razá Khán and told him the disquieting news he had received. For a long time the minister and his deputy hung their heads thinking over the matter and could not make anything of it. After a while, when they raised their heads, Haidar Beg Khán said: "The Bahu Begam has had no connection with Lucknow and the administration and the army since Shujá'u'ddaulah died, and she takes no interest in them. You and I have not offended her in anything by acting contrary to her wishes. We have committed no fault which could have made her dissatisfied with us, and cause her to seek to pay old servants like us off in this way. We must first of all find out who has been sowing these tares and from what quarters this wind has sprung up. We can then take proper precautions and close up the mouth of the breach." Hasan Razá

Khán, though not quickwitted or ready, spoke to the point on this occasion, quoting Sa'dí who says in the Gulistán: "The man whom the snake bit died while they were fetching an antidote from 'Irág," and adding, "While you are spending your time trying to find out who has laid this mine, your enemy who has been there a long time will effect his ends. What you ought to do is, first cut off this communication which exists with the Governor and let it be broken off for some time. After that you can make your inquiries." Haidar Beg Khán took this advice and there and then wrote a letter in Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah's and his own name to this effect: "I beg you will not entertain the proposals put forward through Bahár 'Ali Khán, and in return for this favour, I shall send ten millions of rupees as a mark of gratitude and tribute for your Excellency's acceptance. In the meantime twelve laks of rupees are herein remitted. Calcutta bankers will hand you the money." Bahár 'Ali Khán, as we know, had wanted to knock five off fifteen laks in his negotiations. As soon as the Governor saw Haidar Beg Khán's letter enclosing the draft for the money, the tone of his negotiations with Bahár 'Ali Khán became more undecided, and he evinced a desire to draw off. Bahár 'Ali Khán perceiving himself to be now treated with diminished regard, applied through the Governor's confidential agents for permission to leave Calcutta. The answer was readily given that he might by all means go, and he prepared to return to Faizábád. The day and date of his departure were fixed. When he was taking his leave, the Governor presented him with a complimentary robe. As his experience had been gained in Shujá'u'ddaulah's

darbárs, where he had been accustomed to lord it over the chief citizens of Faizábád and people of the camp, and had no knowledge of the ceremonies and observances of the courts of other kings and foreign powers, his head was filled with old notions he had then imbibed, and so he handed back the robe which the Governor gave him, and said, "Had I been successful in the mission on which I came, this robe would suit me, but now, how can I wear it?" The Governor was incensed at his conduct, and publicly gave utterance to these passionate words: "These provinces were bestowed upon Shujá'u'ddaulah by the Company after his defeat, and as long as he lived he was careful to observe respect towards us. How has this eunuch, who is only a slave of his, the audacity to treat a gift of ours as if it were nothing and refuse it!" When Bahár 'Ali Khán heard these words he hurried at once to Faizábád and covered the long distance in a few days. He presented himself before the Begam without having accomplished the object of his mission, and told in shame what had happened at Calcutta. By the failure of one object in which the Begam had no interest, two or three other objects in which she had an interest also failed.

When Jawáhir 'Ali returned from the Begam's palace after this to his private house, he grew downcast and apprehensive and remarked in private to Mírza Shekhá, who was a close companion of his, "Bye and bye this tree that Bahár 'Ali Khán has planted will bear bitter fruit. God help us!" I was young then and was present: and I asked Mírza Shekhá, "What is my master afraid of that he talks like this?" He replied, "May God protect us, for the result of this

“ does not promise to be good.” As I knew nothing of the matter, I troubled myself no more about it and thought nothing of what he said.

When Bahár ‘Ali Khán returned unsuccessful, Hai-

dar Beg felt easy, and proceeded to institute inquiries as to who was the originator of this plot against him. Haidar Beg’s plan in concert with Hasan Razá Khán when he found out that Almás ‘Ali Khán and Nawáb Sálár Jang and others had plotted this mission: Bahár ‘Ali Khán’s indifference to the result of his conduct: imprisonment of Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán and Bahár ‘Ali Khán for a whole year by Ásafu’ddaulah: dispersion of some 10,000 or 12,000 of the population and other disasters.

He secretly employed clever spies. As a man’s secrets, when they are told to another, cannot remain hidden and are certain to become public, it has often happened that the secrets which kings and princes are trying to conceal are the very next day in every body’s mouth.

The secret of thy heart to mortal ear
to tell forbear :

Thy friend may have a friend to him as dear ;
of him beware.*

After a long inquiry he found out that his squeezing of Almás ‘Ali Khán and wringing the seven or eight laks from him had led to Almás ‘Ali Khán, while pretending to hold aloof and going off to his own districts, becoming an arch conspirator against him with Nawáb Sálár Jang and Nawáb Ásafu’ddaulah, and to the Bahu Begam joining them at their request, and to their sending Bahár ‘Ali Khán to Calcutta. Having ascertained this to his satisfaction, he directed his endeavours to break the power of these distinguished people. As Almás ‘Ali Khán was collector of maháls yielding ten millions of rupees and he had daily dealings of

* Here follows a story to illustrate the evil of telling secrets, but it has nothing to do with this history, so I omit it.

various kinds with him he considered his overthrow not difficult; he felt he could easily undermine his reputation and involve him in trouble over his accounts; but he felt it very difficult indeed to presume and evince disrespect for the Bahu Begam and her household and Nawáb Sálár Jang. At last, after long reflection and much deliberation, the course which seemed to him best to pursue was to sow strife and dissension between the mother and her son, and let all that was done appear to proceed from Ásafu'ddaulah while he should himself escape odium; and, further, there should also occur a rupture between the Governor and the Bahu Begam. As he believed in astrologers to the fullest extent, and hence had ten or a score of them in his private service and would not move an inch without their permission, and he kept on questioning them daily as to hours and conjunctions favourable to himself and unfavourable to Bahár 'Ali Khán, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, Nawáb Sálár Jang, the Bahu Begam, and Almás 'Ali Khán, two years elapsed before the concurrence of conjunctions favourable to him and unfavourable to them. When at last the time came, he prepared to carry out his cherished designs, and acted as will be seen hereafter.

The pomp and magnificence of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán surpassed that of all the eunuchs of his time. He had a spacious house of great length and breadth, furnished with carpets, curtains, blinds, screens, and all other appliances necessary to comfort; and the seats were in superb style, cushions of kamkhwáb, flowered silks, velvet; and his dining table was very large, and covered with a variety of dishes and choice delicacies to which he used to sit down with his companions

and guests. Sometimes he went out for exercise, pleasure or sport, and he then rode in a howdah on an elephant or on horseback with an elaborately embroidered saddle, and ornamented saddle cloth, accompanied by macebearers, archers, spearmen, and all kinds of attendants on foot; Bundelas with green cloth-covered staves and red turbans and belts, and Śābitkhānis in mango-green livery; irregulars in black, regulars in red, Mewātis in white, wonderfully effective in their variety of colour, and heralds riding on horses before the elephant crying and proclaiming, and two or three hundred men mounted on Arab or Turkí horses with complete accoutrements, behind the elephant bringing up the rear. Other rich men, most of them not possessed of equal means and many of them without taste for such display, lacking in ambition, small-minded, burned with envy when they witnessed his surroundings, sought to procure his fall, and desired from their hearts to witness his disgrace: while he, who never entertained the notion of rivalry with any one, and fancied that because he never injured any one no one should entertain a grudge against him, lived in the most open and independent fashion.

On one occasion Nawáb Āsafu'ddaulah came from Lucknow to visit his mother and grandmother, and, according to his custom, halted in the Chauk as he was riding on an elephant and began to buy some wares. His mother, the Bahu Begam, having left Motí Bágh, the residence of the Nawáb Begam, her mother-in-law, which is in the heart of the bázár, was going to the fort, and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was riding on an elephant along the road behind the Begam's palankeen. Āsafu'ddaulah dismounted from his elephant and, to mark

his respect for her, politely grasped the foot of the palankeen and walked a few steps with it. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán proceeded to dismount from his elephant to show his respect for the Nawáb, but Asafu'ddaulah motioned to him to remain where he was, and said: "You are riding with a superior, continue to ride." So he was compelled to ride. The market people and others, who knew nothing of the Nawáb's order and were looking on from a distance, remarked that it was a shame the ruler should be standing on the ground and that a eunuch, who was no better than a slave, should ride past on an elephant. On another occasion when the Nawáb Begam was going to visit the Bahu Begam, Asafu'ddaulah was passing from the Chauk to the fort. There was a blank wall within the gate of the fort which would intercept the public view. The men in front of the Nawáb's procession collided with those in front of the Nawáb Begam's, and they were closed up together. On both sides were shouts of "clear the way" raised by macebearers, herals, and by others in the processions. The attendants who were with the Nawáb Begam struck the Nawáb's retainers with their hands and maces. This led to some talk, whereas the fact is that Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah had approved of this because he had forbidden his men to jostle and make a crush. The common folk generally and indeed some of the upper ranks said to themselves this forwardness and disrespect will by and by end badly.

At the same time that all this was in train, another event had happened, which had no connection with the administration of the affairs of the Bahu Begam. It happened thus. A Mughal, native

Beginning of the
rupture between Ja-
wáhir 'Ali Khán and
Hasan Razá Khán.

of Wiláyat, named 'Iwaz Beg Khán, came to Faizábád and entered the service of Shujá'u'ddaulah. After his death his widow and two sons and his servants settled in Bakhshí Abu'l'barkát Khán's cantonment. His sons became friends of the author's. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death a general change ensued. Both these sons became associates of Ásafu'ddaulah's. After some time they lost their footing with him. The elder, who was named Zainu'l'ábdín Beg, set out with his mother on a pilgrimage to the Karbala, but died on the journey. The younger, who was named Ibráhím Beg, lived in dependence upon his mother's sister's son, Mírza Abu Tálib Khán, who was a tahsildár under Major Hannay, an English officer, who was Haidar Beg's deputy in the northern districts of Oudh, that is Gondah, Balrámpur, and so on. The climate of those parts did not agree with him and he became ill. He came to Faizábád for treatment and recovered. He obtained an introduction to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán through the writer of these pages. In a short time by his gift of conversation and his glibness of tongue he placed himself on a closer footing than all older friends with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, and he asked him for a letter of recommendation to Nawáb Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán, who was Ásafu'ddaulah's minister and Haidar Beg Khán's coadjutor, and was in ascendancy then at Lucknow. The fact is, that many persons whom Hasan Razá Khán had recommended had been entertained in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's service, and whatever Hasan Razá Khán wished to be done at Faizábád he wrote about it and it was carried out. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán never gave any trouble about his personal wishes and was always too proud to make them known. Now, when his desire to serve Ibráhím

Beg was his prevailing feeling, he wrote a letter to Hasan Razá Khán saying he would be obliged to him if he would induce Ásafu'ddaulah to forgive Ibráhím Beg and obtain for him private entrée into the Nawáb's presence as before. Nothing was done for him, and for this reason Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's hitherto placid temper became somewhat ruffled, but he concealed the fact and no one knew his heart. Having premised this, I now come to the point.

After Bahár 'Ali Khán's return from Calcutta, the Governor, Mr. Hastings, wrote to Haidar Beg Khán, saying that he knew that he had closed negotiations with Bahár 'Ali Khán out of regard for him, and he called on him to keep his promise and pay up at once the large sum. When Haidar Beg Khán saw that he could not do this, he wrote in reply saying he would pay the money over if the Governor came to Banáras. He had another object in view. The city and province of Banáras had passed out of Ásafu'ddaulah's possession during Muḡhtáru'ddaulah's tenure of the office of minister and gone into the hands of the English. The Company had taken over the revenue administration of that province for better or worse. After the death of Balwant Singh, the local Rája, they had set up as his successor his son Chet Singh, who was the child of a prostitute, but who had the requisite ability. Ausán Singh, who had been manager of Balwant Singh's estates and household, was removed because he could not agree with Chet Singh, and he was now seeking to raise some specious pretext and establish himself in the estate. Balwant Singh's daughter's son, who was legitimate, was also burning with resentment at Chet Singh's elevation, and could not endure his administration. Ausán

Singh, who had been waiting on the Governor for a year, represented that Chet Singh was illegitimate, and that he himself had been the one who lent distinction to his house; and he also kept handing in petitions from the late rája's daughter's son, saying that his mother was the ráni's daughter and he was entitled to succeed to the estate; that if the Governor would set him up in Chet Singh's place he would present a nazr of ten millions of rupees and would pay ten laks of revenue yearly more than Chet Singh was then paying. The Governor had all this in his mind. Now that Haidar Beg Khán invited him to Banáras and circumstances had changed, the Governor, hoping to get twenty millions of rupees, left Calcutta and proceeded up to the west by river with a fleet of boats. Before the Governor left Calcutta, after Chet Singh's disturbances, Haidar Beg Khán drew up statements of the income and expenditure of the súbah and laid them before Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah, showing twelve millions and five hundred thousands of rupees due to the English, partly on account of the five annas share of the revenue of the súbah, and partly for pay of the two brigades and also for the purchase of English goods. The Nawáb told him that, as he had under his administration the whole of the Oudh súbah, half súbah Akbarábád and half Allahábád súbah, and collected the revenues, he was to arrange to pay this debt. Haidar Beg Khán went on to say that owing to the numerous expenses of the Nawáb, which were many of them unnecessary, this would be impossible; that he had, however, after great exertions been able to get together two million five hundred thousand; that it was very difficult, indeed impossible, to provide the other ten

millions: still one plan had entered his head and he would propound it if permitted. He was told to state it: and he said, "We servants have for a long time lived, and we still live, under Your Excellency's protection. If we submit to an inconvenience for one year until Your Excellency's mind is relieved of its anxiety, it is only becoming our loyalty. The plan is this: for Your Excellency first to resume the maháls constituting my jágir and that of Nawáb Sarfarázu'd-daulah. After that all Government servants in the higher and lower grades can be called on to make a present to the Government of the incomes of their jágirs for one year. If that be not sufficient a small loan can be taken from the Bahu Begam's eunuchs, and a small amount levied from Nawáb Sálár Jang, who has also an interest in the State, and thus by one effort Your Excellency will be freed from the duns of the Company and losses by interest, and you may spend your days in continuous enjoyment. After that no worry or anxiety will trouble Your Excellency's heart." The Nawáb replied: "Your first proposal is excellent, but your second is out of place and cannot be accepted, because I have several times taken large sums from my mother since my father's death, and at last I gave a written promise under the seal of Mr. John Bristow, Mírza 'Ali Khán, my deceased maternal uncle, and Nawáb Sálár Jang, that I should extort no more money from her. I cannot now have the face to demand more." Then Haidar Beg Khán urged that: "In the present difficulties when Your Excellency is under an obligation to pay such a large sum to the Company, if there is a delay in payment there are several grounds of apprehension. One of these is

“ that possibly the Company may demand the possession
“ of some maháls of Your Excellency’s territories, from
“ which they may realize the money and release them
“ afterwards. Your Excellency will be without alter-
“ native, and will have to make them over whether you
“ wish or not. To get them back will be very difficult.
“ Suppose they do not make this proposal, but adopt the
“ other course, and defer their demand, the interest on
“ ten millions of rupees will in one year nearly equal
“ the original principal. Thus payment will become
“ all the more difficult. The Bahu Begam has no child
“ but Your Excellency, and during her lifetime as well
“ as after her death you are her heir both by the law
“ of Islám and by custom. It is well known that Jawá-
“ hir ‘Ali Khán and Bahár ‘Ali Khán entertain large
“ bodies of troops, have gathered round them every-
“ thing that indicates opulence and influence, and
“ live at ease in pomp and splendour. In this way
“ Bahár ‘Ali Khán and others live on the income of
“ their jágírs and their accumulations, and have no
“ demands to meet or provision to make for posterity.
“ When subjects and servants are treated with such
“ kindness and consideration by their master, if their
“ wealth is availed of by him for the preservation of his
“ ancient estate, what great evil or loss can result?”
As the Nawáb was a simple-minded man, who was day
and night absorbed in amusements, shows, and fire-
works and the construction of grand edifices, and
bestowed little attention on revenue settlements, mili-
tary affairs, foreign conquests, and policy in general, and
was wholly regardless of the future, he answered that,
although it would be highly disrespectful and a breach
of faith to make a demand for money from his mother,

yet, as the circumstances were so pressing, he supposed there was no help for it but to do as proposed. When this plan of Haidar Beg Khán's was thus agreed upon, he felt certain of his object and rested secure. While this was in progress, another event which fitted in took place. It was this. When Ásafu'ddaulah and other nobles were returning to Lucknow through Sultánpur, after Mr. Hastings left Banáras, the Bahu Begam sent a letter to the Nawáb, expressing a great wish to see him.

I now turn to give a brief account of the Governor's arrival in Banáras and what happened there.

Although Maulavi Khairu'ddín of Allahábád has written a separate book on the subject of the insurrection at Banáras called the "Banárasnâma," and Ghulám 'Ali Khán of Bareli has written a brief account of it, yet a short narrative of the occurrence is here inserted because it is interwoven with the history of the decay of Faizábád.

Governor Hastings set out from Calcutta with the intention of removing Chet Singh from the government and dignity of Rája of Banáras, and setting up in his place the legitimate son of Rája Balwant Singh's daughter, who was the issue he had by his rání, and of obtaining ten millions of rupees as nazr, and an increase of the Company's yearly revenue, and also with a view to comply with the invitation which Haidar Beg Khán had written him. When the Governor's tents had reached the first stage west of 'Azímábád, Haidar Beg Khán, who had got the Nawáb's permission to go and

meet the Governor, left Lucknow and marched as far as Jaunpur, and pitched his tents on the banks of a small stream called the Barná nála. The Governor entered Banáras from that side with a few men. There was a Hindú macebearer named Chet Rám, who had been formerly in Rája Chet Singh's service, but had been dismissed by him for some fault and expelled from his dominions. He went to Calcutta where he entered the Governor's service and cherished a resentment against the rája. He now out of revenge, when sent to summon Rája Chet Singh, spoke in a manner disrespectful to the rája's position and station.

There was a man, a native of no one knows where, but who gave himself out to be Saiyad, named 'Aliu'd-dín Kubrá, who came to Faizábád with a Hindú lad, whom he had converted to Islám and renamed Zainu'l'ábdín. In 1186 A.H. [1772 A.D.] when Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah marched from Faizábád to assist Háfiz Rahmat Khán and others, Ruhelas and Afgháns, who were groaning under the hands of the Marhatas and Dakhanis, and pitched his tents at Rámghát, and the houses in the late Bakhshí Abu'l'barkát Khán's cantonment became untenanted, I happened to be in Faizábád in search of employment and to be living in a house in the cantonment, and all the officers placed me in charge of their houses with instructions to guard them. This Saiyad 'Aliu'ddín finding a splendid and spacious tenement empty, coolly entered it without obtaining my permission and made himself at home. Next day I heard of this, went to see him, and said to him: "You intruder, what have you to do with this house or its owner that you have entered it without permission? Begone and take another house." As

he was a plausible and pleasant talker he talked of everything and anything, and got round me at our very first meeting, and I left quite delighted with him, and permitted him to remain in the house. It happened that two days after, I caught cold in my head and suffered with headache and fever. My friend, who was a most skilful doctor, paid me great attention and in a short time banished my illness. It seemed as if God had sent him for this exigency. During the whole nine months that the Nawáb was absent on his campaign, I enjoyed his company. When the Nawáb came back and the occupants of the houses returned, my friend remained for some time at the house of one Hikmat Husen Khán Tabīb, one of the Begam's servants, and then went to Banáras. He then became a companion of Rájá Chet Singh, played well the part of a familiar favorite, and having accumulated a considerable sum through the rája's favour, became so to speak wealthy. After some time each became dissatisfied with the other, and they who had come together drifted at last apart. 'Aliu'ddín followed Chet Rám's example, nay, at his suggestion entered the English service, and they made common cause, formed a close intimacy with the son of Balwant Singh's legitimate daughter, and plotted for the overthrow of Chet Singh. They came together to Banáras.

When Chet Rám summoned the rája in this harsh manner, the latter, remembering that the man was the servant of an important personage, bore the insult patiently; but the rája's friends who were then present turned him out of his presence. Chet Rám returned to the Governor and exaggerated the occurrence. A company of regulars were despatched to arrest the rája

and drag him before the Governor, if they could possibly manage it. The rája's friends, some hundreds of whom were then with him and armed, fell suddenly on the regulars without the rája's orders, slew them in heaps, and a general rising followed. The Governor, seeing the turn affairs had taken, secretly crossed the river at midnight, fled on foot to the fort of Chunár, which is sixteen miles east of Banáras, entered it safely, and was out of danger.

Throughout the whole súbah of Oudh a complete change came over the common folk, who are no better than cattle. Wherever the villagers saw a red-coated regular, they harried him. There was an Englishman, named John Garden, who managed a mahál in the north of the súbah under Major Hannay, and had a very small force with him. The people of the district, observing that his supporters were few, rose against him, and intended to plunder the large sum which he held as revenue collections in his keeping. He understood their intention and before the villagers could fall upon him, he loaded the money in a howdah on the elephant he used to ride, sat on the howdah, and left his residence secretly at night with a few sepoy in search of a place of safety. He arrived in the morning at the north bank of the Ghágra and halted at a ferry. On the south of the river lay the town of Tándah, which was one of the places in the Bahu Begam's jágir, and Shamsher Khán, a eunuch novice and a slave of the Begam's, who held the appointment of tahsildár in the place under Bahár 'Ali Khán, was living in the fort. John Garden sent a messenger across in a small boat with a verbal message to Shamsher Khán, asking him to send him as quickly as possible some large boats to

enable him to cross over with his treasure and get into Tándab, because he was hotly pursued by bands of villagers, and he could thus escape the peril in which he was placed. This short-sighted man, on the advice of some friends like himself, delayed to send the boats, fancying that the God-given power of the English had been overthrown. Some people also say that he even fired some cannon-balls across the river. Although the Begam afterwards heard what happened and sent for Bahár 'Ali Khán and reprimanded him, and at once sent Mír Nişár 'Ali, Bahár 'Ali Khán's brother, with one hundred irregulars to appease John Garden and bring him to her, assigned him apartments in the Angúri Bágh, which is in the fort, and exerted herself to her utmost to entertain him with a choice table and numerous attentions, he sent a written report of all this, telling how the Begam's representative had treated him, to the Governor, who was alive and well in the fort of Chunár.

I now turn to the transaction which passed between the Governor and Haidar Beg Khán.

Compact between Governor Hastings and Haidar Beg Khán. When Haidar Beg Khán, who had not advanced beyond Jaunpur, heard the news of the insurrection at Banáras, he was dazed, and he wrote to Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah asking him to collect all his forces and the officers of the súbah and come to him, bringing them and his artillery, or the results would be disastrous. The Nawáb moved down to the east with all his officers and a large force, picked up Haidar Beg Khán, and entered the district of Banáras. He crossed the Ganges and ordered his soldiers to expel the insolent Chet Singh from the city. Almás 'Ali Khán, who was governor of the east and

• south districts, and had a large force with him, crossed the river. At the same time the English troops also came up, concentrating from Allahábád and other places, and drove the rája out, and the Governor issuing from the fort of Chunár pitched his tents outside and felt secure. First Haidar Beg Khán with Ásafu'ddaulah's permission waited on him, and, after laying circumstances before him, threw himself at his feet, and disclosed his thoughts. "How," said he, "dare Chet Singh, who is nothing more than a landed proprietor, oppose Your Excellency and present so bold a front? All was done at the instigation of the Begam's eunuchs: I should not wonder even if the Begam had given a hint to him." The Governor replied: "This does not seem probable, for the English Company has never had any friction with Shujá'u'ddaulah, or since his death with the Begams, regarding any political or administrative question. So wanton a move could not proceed from persons so discrêet and of such high rank." As the star of the prosperity of the Begams and their eunuchs was then on the decline, John Garden's letter, complaining of Shamsher Khán's conduct, was actually delivered while this very conversation was going on, and served to confirm Haidar Beg Khán's words. The Governor went on to say: "If a servant or slave commits a fault, we English do not blame his master. It is impossible in this instance to punish the Begam or her dependents." Haidar Beg Khán replied: "At present all that is known is the bare fact that Shamsher Khán has been guilty of this effrontery. Your Excellency will please bear this in mind, and I shall coax Ásaf-u'ddaulah to punish him for this misconduct; but on

“condition of the secret support of Your Excellency in this way: if the Begam writes to you complaining of her son’s action in this matter, Your Excellency can reply that it is a matter concerning mother and son, and that you do not interfere in family matters, and Your Excellency can instruct Mr. Middleton, your Resident at Lucknow, to assist me in every way.” This was agreed upon and Nawáb Ásafu’ddaulah afterwards visited the Governor. At this first interview they took leave of one another. The officials returned to Lucknow, and the Nawáb went off from Sultánpur to Faizábád at the Begam’s invitation, remained a few days there, and then proceeded to Lucknow. When he was leaving, the Begam said: “Hasan Razá Khán has not come with you this time. How is that?” “I will send him,” replied the Nawáb, “when I return to Lucknow.” And when he arrived in Lucknow he said to Hasan Razá Khán: “My mother asked for you several times and it is advisable that you should go and pay your respects to her;” so Hasan Razá Khán travelled to Faizábád to visit the Bahu Begam, and at the same time to perform the Fátíha ceremonies of Nawáb Shujá’u’ddaulah, the performance of which falls on the third of Zíqa’d.

When Hasan Razá Khán was setting out for Faizábád, Haidar Beg Khán came to see him and had a private conversation with him. He said to him: “You have a cordial friendship and are at one with Maṭbú’ Ali Khán, who is the Nawáb Begam’s chief eunuch, and you have secret understandings with each other. It is probable that the Nawáb Begam’s eunuchs are secretly envious of the Bahu Begam’s eunuchs, owing to the greater grandeur of the latter. You must so manage that they shall not consult with each other in

“the matter which is now before me, lest the Begams
“should combine with each other, for if they should be
“of one heart and mind it is probable that my plans
“may fail.”

When Hasan Razá Khán reached Faizábád, he went first to the Nawáb Begam's gate and on from that to the Bahu Begam's. He went through the usual forms of courtesy and presented nazr, and sat a long time conversing with the physicians and others who lived at the palace gates: and he asked all the slave girls and waiting women who had always been allowed to come to the door and had known him for a very long time, how they were, treating each and all according to their relative positions. He continued in this way to wait for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who was inside the palace, to come out. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was offended with his neglect of Mírza Ibráhím Beg, as already mentioned: whereas Hasan Razá Khán was wholly unaware of this and had no recollection of the occurrence. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was delaying to come out and was waiting for Hasan Razá Khán to go away that he might return home. Hasan Razá Khán waited so long that the sun began to go down, and at last Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had to come out, and walked in the direction of his palankeen. Hasan Razá Khán prepared to greet him, rose up, and attempted to embrace him. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, with an evident intention to avoid him, put his hand to his head, seated himself in his palankeen and hurried home. Hasan Razá Khán was ashamed of this reception and did not inquire what was the cause of this unwonted conduct and this displeasure on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's part. He rose and went to his lodgings. The people at the gate and his retinue bit their fingers and wondered what it all meant.

Not one of them could fathom this secret, and the occurrence became talked of by every one.

That was the date fixed for Nawáb Shujá'u'ddauláh's Fátihá and Hasan Razá Khán had charge of the illuminations and of the cooking of the food which was to be distributed. He had also brought marsíya-khwáns* with him from Lucknow, and had appointed contractors of his own. Everything was carried out according to his orders at the place of celebration. That evening Muharram 'Ali Khán, Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, others of the Nawáb Begam's eunuchs, and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, Bahár 'Ali Khán, Nishát 'Ali Khán and others, the Bahu Begam's eunuchs and stewards, went in great state and took their places. Shopkeepers of the city and spectators from the villages gathered in great numbers. The Bahu Begam came in her palankeen and was set down some two or three paces from the tomb. Out of respect for her there was profound silence and quiet in the large gathering. All noise and tumult ceased. A company of irregulars came with Ahmad 'Ali Beg, Kaptán, as the Begam's escort, and stood behind her palankeen with the fuses of their matchlocks burning. On that side public access was closed. Mírza Muhammad Razá, a friend of Hasan Razá Khán, who was the greatest marsíya-khwán of his day, began to chaunt a marsíya, and everyone was listening with the utmost attention. At this juncture Hasan Razá Khán, after saying his sunset and evening prayers, and reading the lessons for the day, left his lodgings and went to the Guláb Bári. When he arrived at the gate with his retinue, who were over seventy in

* Marsíya, mourning verses sung on funereal occasions. Marsíya-khwáns, professional singers of such verses.

all, and were strong men and armed, and other followers, servants and orderlies, about two hundred in all, he proceeded to make his way in, not knowing that this was the way the Begam's palankeen had gone. The company of sepoy's forbade him to enter. Hasan Razá Khán's followers attempted to disperse them and clear the way for their master by using the big shields which they all had on their arms. The irregulars charged them and struck the shields with their gunstocks. When the Khán found out that the Bahu Begam was in her palankeen and the irregulars were drawn up to guard her, he forbade his men to struggle with them, and turning back he went and sat down in the corner of a chamber near Shujá'u'd-daulah's tomb, sad, solitary, and silent. His followers, who were a large body, could not find a place to sit down owing to the crowd of spectators from the city, who had come in and taken their seats before them, and so they were compelled to stand. When the Bahu Begam and all those present saw this they were astonished, and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán sent Mír Kallu Fázil, who had at one time been a servant of Hasan Razá Khán's and was now one of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's retainers, from the place where he and his party were sitting under the awning at the east side, with a message to the Mírza, asking him why he did not leave the corner where he was crouched and come to the awning. The Mírza replied: "This little place is enough for a poor weak man like me. I am not worthy to sit down in such company." When the chaunting of marsíyas and other celebrations ended, the gathering broke up. The Bahu Begam returned to the Motí Mahal, and Hasan Razá Khán went home. Next morning the Bahu Begam went over to the Motí Bágh to call on the Nawáb Begam. On the

way Hasan Razá Khán met her, dismounted from his horse, saluted her, and accompanied her on foot. When the Bahu Begam went inside the curtain which hung across the door of the private gate, she brought her palankeen to a stand-still, sent for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Hasan Razá Khán, made them embrace each other, and tried to make up their quarrel. Although they seemingly became friends again and used to salute each other, their mutual dislike continued as before. After a week Hasan Razá Khán obtained permission to return to Lucknow, was invested with a robe of honour, and left Faizábád. When he saw Ásafu'ddaulah, the Nawáb said: "You must have been very hospitably entertained," and he replied, "Entertained, indeed! I was more hurt than honoured."

About this time boils broke out on Ásafu'ddaulah's neck. His mother sent Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to inquire for him. The Nawáb, for his mother's sake, treated him with great kindness, and he met many of the Lucknow nobility. Hasan Razá Khán treated him apparently with cordiality, and used to send him some dishes every day from his kitchen. But that splendid hospitality which had been shown on a previous occasion, when Hasan Razá Khán and Mahbúb 'Ali Khán joined Mr. Middleton, the Resident at Lucknow, in entertaining the Nawáb Begam, who was intending to perform the pilgrimage to Baitullah,* and when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán entertained Hasan Razá Khán, and Mahbúb 'Ali Khán in return, asked them to his house, and set before them a numerous variety of choice dishes under covers, and afterwards presented them with robes laid out upon trays, was not extended to him. Haidar Beg Khán

* House of God, i.e., Makkah.

was now established as minister and had become powerful. He looked upon no one as his equal. He had been nothing but a police officer in the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah; and these eunuchs had then thought nothing of him. Courtesy or attention was out of question. Haidar Beg Khán met Jawáhir 'Ali Khán in Asafu'ddaulah's darbár, greeted him and made a move to embrace him; but Jawáhir 'Ali Khán eluded him, bowed, and merely asked him how he was. There was no show of cordiality or warmth.

Another event now occurred. There was a Hindú named Bhawáni Singh, a native of Salon, who held his native village and two or three other villages on lease from Jawáhir 'Ali Khán at a head rent of eight thousand rupees, and the real rent-roll of this estate was eighteen thousand rupees. As he was intimate with the Nawáb he had an armed force. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's agent neglected the enhancement of the rent and the resumption of the villages. It so happened that in this year Bhawáni Singh fell out of the Nawáb's favour, lost his rank and was sent to prison. Maulavi Fazl 'Ali Khán of Safipur, who had held the post of deputy superintendent of the Nawáb's cooking establishment and audience room under Hasan Razá Khán for a long time, that is from the days of Shujá'u'ddaulah, and was now Bhawáni Singh's agent at the Nawáb's court, knowing that there was a profit of ten thousand rupees to be had on his estate, asked Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to be good enough to let him have the estate hitherto held by Bhawáni Singh, adding that he was quite as loyal to him as he was to Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán, and he would pay him in regular instalments the same rent which Bhawáni Singh had paid. Akhwand Ahmád

'Ali, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's local agent, had previously informed him that there was a profit of ten thousand rupees on this estate; that the Maulavi wished to secure the whole of this; and that he should by some pretext avoid granting his application: so Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, on his agent's advice, replied that he would grant him the estate when he had interviewed the Begam on his return to Faizábád; that he could not lease even one village without her consent. The Maulavi, perceiving that he was only putting him off, represented the matter to Ásafu'ddaulah and asked him to use his influence for him. The Nawáb asked Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to give the estate to the Maulavi for his sake, and not on any account to tell the Bahu Begam, and added that if he raised any objection he would send a regiment of regulars to put the Maulavi in possession. The Khán replied that the Nawáb and the Nawáb's mother, the Bahu Begam, were his masters, and he dared not disobey one or the other. From that day Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was disgusted with the Nawáb.

Two days later Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was invested with a complimentary robe, took leave, and returned to Faizábád. Here he narrated the whole occurrence to the Bahu Begam, who told him on no account to allow the Maulavi to obtain a footing in her jágírs. The Maulavi addressed the Nawáb a second time and he despatched a regiment of regulars to put him in possession. The regiment entered Bhawáni Singh's estate. When the Begam heard of this, she ordered that the regiment should be driven out. Mírza Ahmad 'Ali Beg, Kap-tán, set out with two hundred cavalry and two detachments of irregulars, who were in Faizábád, more than a thousand men and two guns. They were joined by

about seven hundred sepoy's who were stationed at Salon and a number of villagers at the call of the small landholders on the jágir, and the whole force amounted to about three or four thousand men. The commander of the regiment despatched a report of this to the Nawáb. As his intention was presently to confiscate the jágirs, and the property of the eunuchs, Haidar Beg advised the Nawáb to withdraw the regiment for the present, and said that the matter would be settled in a few days by another plan. The Nawáb recalled the regiment and it returned. At this the hearts of the Begam's supporters were delighted, believing that the Nawáb's force had been deterred by the formidable display they had made.

After ten or twelve days, when Haidar Beg Khán had ascertained facts reliably from various quarters, and had closed up every gap, and when he had made sure of the two Begams not acting in concert, and of their advisers being off their guard, he began to give line. He then took out his statement of account and laid it before Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah and pretended to be depressed and dejected beyond measure. He enacted the play once more. He had entered in it the pay of the two brigades stationed at Cawnpore, and five annas in the rupee of the revenue which had been fixed since the days of Shujá'u'ddaulah, and the price of many English curios and expensive articles which the Nawáb had purchased from the Company at extravagant prices, and the interest on these moneys, and shown altogether one krór and twenty-five laks of rupees,* which he made out that the Nawáb owed to the Company, and he said: "I have already brought this to Your Excellency's

* Twelve and a half millions of rupees.

"notice, and now the Company is pressing for payment.
"I cannot sleep at night or digest my food by day for
"fear. I cannot devise any scheme to meet the case.
"I have nothing left but to apply to Your Excellency."
The Nawáb said: "You are the manager of all my
"dominions, and why do you not pay from the revenue
"which you collect?" Then Haidar Beg Khán went
on: "The charges of the army and of public buildings,
"and of the establishments which are entertained far
"beyond what is necessary, as in the case of elephants
"and horses, and the presents and the gifts of money
"which are disbursed night and day, involve so great
"an expenditure of money, that there is not time to draw
"breath, yet your servant has contrived with great diffi-
"culty to get together twenty-five laks of rupees. How
"to get the krór of rupees I cannot see. I have thought
"of a plan and it depends upon Your Excellency's
"wishes. It is this: that we, Your Excellency's servants,
"who are your dependents and whose honor and welfare
"is bound up in the permanence of your state and
"dignity, should hand over to you the profits of our
"jágírs which we have accumulated, and should elect to
"undergo some inconvenience and present to Your
"Excellency's government the income of our estates for
"one year. If Your Excellency will be pleased first to
"confiscate the jágírs of Nawáb Sarfarázu'ddaulah and
"your humble servant, and next the income of the
"villages constituting the jágírs of your other depen-
"dents be called in to the treasury; and if in this way
"the one krór of rupees be not realized, then if, for the
"maintenance of the state, it be considered advisable
"to ask for a loan from Nawáb Sálár Jang and from the
"Bahu Begam, it would not be a wholly improper course

“to pursue.” The Nawáb expressed his approval of the first proposal, but, referring to the second, he placed his hands deprecatingly on the minister’s breast and said: “I have several times, since my father died, taken large sums from my mother, and on the last occasion I gave her a written release and acquittance under the seal of the Company and also the seal of my maternal uncle to cover the future. I have not now boldness enough to squeeze her lest the Company should call me to account.” To this Haidar Beg replied: “The stability of the station of the Nawáb Begam, the Bahu Begam, and Nawáb Sálár Jang, and after theirs that of us poor people, is identified with that of Your Excellency. If, as I hope may not be the case, the money due to the English be not paid and on this pretext they wrest the country from your officers, be pleased to tell me honestly, will the present state of things continue or not? Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán and Bahár ‘Ali Khán in Faizábád are misappropriating all kinds of property of the Bahu Begam’s fearlessly, and are living in the utmost state and splendour. If they suffer annoyance for a year, what loss will it be to Your Excellency? If they contribute to your treasury as much as they spend, it will be only fair and proper, for legally and by custom Your Excellency is heir to your mother’s estate.” By such arguments he overcame the Nawáb’s scruples and led him to forget the advice which he had himself formerly given, and the Nawáb, falling in with his proposals, gave his consent.

Haidar Beg first brought forward the confiscation of his own and Hasan Razá Khán’s jágir. Then, having brought about the confiscation of the jágirs of various courtiers, such as the eunuchs ‘Ambar ‘Ali Khán, and

Áfrín 'Ali Khán, and Nawáb Murádu'ddaulah and others, he gave out that orders had been given to confiscate Nawáb Sálár Jang's also, and next, that, though it was apparently contrary to reason and justice, it seemed likely that money would be demanded from the Bahu Begam. Reports of this kind were spread in Faizábád and, being on every one's lips, became public. Eventually the eunuchs carried these reports to the Begams. At first they discredited them. But when the rumours were repeated time after time and when besides this Mír Náşir 'Ali, an old collector of Shujá'u'ddaulah's time, went to the Begam's jágírs, no room for doubt remained. An order was given, the moment his arrival was known, that he should not be allowed to remain for one night. As revenue police and an armed force of the Begam's, about nine hundred or a thousand men, were on the spot, and they were joined by the villagers on the estate, there appeared a host of some five or six thousand men who surrounded Mír Náşir 'Ali. He sent a written report to the Nawáb, who, finding things not to be as he had expected, ordered him to return. This event still further elated the Begam's advisers. When things had gone so far and intentions were no longer veiled, and Nawáb Sálár Jang raised no protest but silently submitted to the blow which the confiscation of his jágír inflicted, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was ordered by the Begam to write letters to Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah, Haidar Beg Khán, Mr. Middleton and Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán, and a separate letter was written and sent to each.

The letter to Ásafu'ddaulah was to this effect:—

“Ásafu'ddaulah, think of the presumption of which
“you are guilty at the instigation of ungrateful enemies

"of our house against me, who am your mother, and,
 "besides this, have privately and publicly cared for
 "you in many ways, as you yourself well know. Not-
 "withstanding all obligations, you seek by unbecoming
 "and disrespectful actions to render yourself guilty
 "before God and condemned of men. Since the death
 "of your father, when you succeeded to the seat of Gov-
 "ernment, I have experienced at your hands nothing but
 "injury and enmity. The claims which I have by law
 "and by nature on you I had not upon Shujá'u'ddaulah.
 "He had in his seraglio several thousand women,
 "married and not married to him, allied and not allied
 "to him by a temporary tie, and yet you well know the
 "deference, attention, and kindness which he showed
 "to me. It is known everywhere. On you, who are the
 "child of my body and the heart of my heart, obedience
 "to me is a thousand-times more incumbent. The
 "money, property, jágírs and so on, which I possess are
 "all derived from my late husband. From your treasury
 "when have I received a farthing? The notions you
 "have formed and the intentions you now entertain are
 "a mistake. Dismiss the evil thoughts you harbour in
 "casting your eye upon the maháls of my jágír. If
 "you do not, the consequences here and hereafter will
 "not be good."

Haidar Beg Khán was briefly addressed in similar style :—

"To the Honorable Haidar Beg Khán,—You will
 "remember that there was a time when, for the arrears
 "due on Rudauli and Daryábád, your elder brother,
 "Núr Beg, died in extreme torture, exposed to the burn-
 "ing sun in the month of Amardád, and you were rolling

“on the stone pavement beside your brother, half dead
“from the heat of the sun and want of water, and you
“were on the point of following your brother, when
“I interceded for you, paid the money for you from
“my private purse, saved your life, and kept you under
“my protection and care. You then used to rub your
“forehead in gratitude and devotion at my door-step;
“and the rank you enjoy and the position you have of
“minister of this country you owe to my son, and have
“derived from no other source. Perhaps you desire to
“avenge yourself for your brother’s death on my servants
“when you prompt my son to this wantonness and
“violence. But the reason of it is that *Asafu’ddaulah*
“is a simple-hearted man and absorbed in amusements.
“Whatever you tutor him to do, he does without con-
“sidering the consequences. An avenging God will
“requite evil deeds.”

* The letter addressed to Mr. Middleton, the Resident at Lucknow, was to the following effect:—

“The rule and habit of English princes and officials
“is that they never swerve from their word or actions.
“Whatever they say or write, they stand by it. I hold
“several deeds under the seal of Mr. John Bristow and
“other gentlemen; they are to the effect that after their
“date the representatives of the Company and Nawáb
“*Asafu’ddaulah* have no further claim whatever on my
“money, my moveable property, the maháls of my *jágír*,
“and my dependents, servants, slaves, domestics, and
“others: and that I may do whatever I wish and can with
“them. When they have committed such solemn pro-
“mises to writing and handed them to me, what means
“this hostile move which is rumoured and is incessantly

“repeated, and seems likely soon to be carried out, and
“from whom does it proceed?”

The following cutting letter was addressed to Maulavi Fazl ‘Azim Khán :—

“You have surely forgotten yourself. You have
“left the straight path. It is only a few days since you
“began to flatter my meanest slave girls, called them
“your sisters and were proud of the acquaintance. To-
“day, in your greed for the ten thousand rupees profits
“of Bhawáni Singh’s estate, you become a cause of
“strife and discord, and gird yourself for deeds of
“ingratitude and try to promote a quarrel between
“me and my son. This cup is not an infusion of
“poppy-heads harmless in its effects.”

When these letters reached Lucknow, the three addressees went with one consent and voice to Asafu’d-
daulah and said that, as the Bahu Begam could not read
and write, these epistles seemed to proceed from Jawáhir
‘Ali Khán, who would be bold enough to do anything
that entered his head without informing her; that, as he
had been a slave of his father’s, it seemed advisable that
he should reprimand him, and it would have a good
effect. The Nawáb, who was a perfect simpleton, prepared
to go to Faizábád for this purpose, but he first wrote to
his mother saying that he was coming to interview her;
that she would have an opportunity of telling him her
mind; and that he would himself in person tell her all he
had to say. We poor people felt our minds relieved
when this letter arrived, but some perfidious persons
who lived on the Begam’s bounty, who led to the ruin of
her household, and who were burning with envy of the
position enjoyed by Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán and Bahár ‘Ali

Khán, and who used to invent complaints and lying stories, and write letters about the Begam's affairs to Hasan Razá Khán and Haidar Beg Khán, and expected to profit thereby and obtain various favours, money, and property, from the Nawáb and his officials, among whom were some of the Begam's own eunuchs; as soon as they saw that the Nawáb was himself coming and there was a chance of an understanding between the mother and her son, and it would be found out who and who had made such and such statements and how they had come to be written, and these two noble persons would find out for certain that a particular individual had written a particular statement, and the end would be that that person would be beheaded or be driven on a donkey's back out of the city in disgrace, wrote letters from Faizábád saying that there were there several guns and ammunition, and three or four thousand cavalry and infantry, and hundreds of other tried and trained men ready to fight, and that the Nawáb should be advised, if he came at all, to be cautious. The Nawáb believed this story and called in all his sepoys, who were scattered here and there in various parganas, and ordered his collectors to entertain revenue police instead of sepoys to assist them in their collections, and to send in the troops. Accordingly all the battalions of irregulars who wore black, and of regulars who wore red, and troops of cavalry came in in bodies to join the Nawáb. All the men at the Bahu Begam's command were two hundred mounted soldiers under Ahmad 'Ali Beg, Kaptán, eighteen companies of irregulars under Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, one company of regulars and one detachment of irregulars under Bahár 'Ali Khán, one hundred infantry under Sakún 'Ali Khán, and two or three hundred picked men who wore white

uniform: and they had no intention to fight any one or any other object in view. In the first place, there was no likelihood of any situation arising between mother and son which would lead to bloodshed: in the next, what were two or three thousand sepoys before Asafu'd-daulah, who, notwithstanding the reduction and destruction of the old army, must still have had not less than twenty-five thousand, nay, properly speaking, as many as fifty thousand men? They may be said to have been numerous as blades of grass.

When the troops had been collected in Lucknow and the artillery had been set in train, the Nawáb set out for Faizábád with Mr. Middleton, the Resident at Lucknow. Haidar Beg Khán said he would leave Lucknow in a day or two, and he hoped that the Nawáb would not be in a hurry in any matter until he arrived; that he was bringing together another force and calling in people from scattered points and he would join him soon. As he was wholly in the hands of astrologers, they had combined and told him it was not the propitious hour for him to depart. This is why he put forward the pretext of collecting a force and remained behind.

It had been Asafu'd-daulah's custom, when he went to Faizábád, to send orders to have his old residence near the Motí Mahal, which was the Begam's residence, prepared for his reception; and the servants and caretakers there put the place in order. On this occasion no orders in this behalf were issued to any of his servants, and when he came to Faizábád, he halted at the Asaf Bágh, a garden which Shujá'u'd-daulah had laid out and called after Asafu'd-daulah, at a distance of two miles from the Chauk and near the out-post on the Lucknow

road. When he did this, the Bahu Begam sent Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán and bade them ask why he now halted at this garden contrary to his usual practice and remained at a distance of more than two miles from her. He replied: "I am at present in such a state of melancholy that my mind is upset unless I have a large house with a good outlook. In Lucknow, too, I spend most of my time in the open air. My medical advisers, who are with me, have selected this residence to dispel my gloom, as being more commodious than old bárahdaris. I shall visit Her Highness in the course of the evening." He presented each of the eunuchs with two shawls, a turban trimmed with pearls and a handkerchief, and they returned happy and announced that the Nawáb would call in the evening. That evening, when it was very late and in many places people had already lighted their lamps, he came to the Bahu Begam's palace with Nawáb Sálár Jang, his mother's brother, presented a nazr of one hundred and one gold pieces, as had been his old custom, and sat conversing for a few minutes. He left very quickly on the excuse that he was going to sunset prayer and to recite the Fátiha for Shujá'u'ddaulah, and went to the Guláb Bári and paused for a moment on his elephant to say the Fátiha and then went on to Asaf Bágh. Next day and the day after he came in the morning to see the Begam, inquired for her, stayed a few minutes, and after a short conversation hurried away, so that there might be no opportunity for mentioning the jágírs or money, and on both sides there was complete reserve. On the fourth day Haidar Beg Khán came up with some troops and artillery. Hasan Razá Khán, who was an old confidential servant of the Begam's, and Haidar Beg Khán, who owed his life to

her, went, neither of them, to her gate to present nazr or pay their respects. This pained and displeased her. The Nawáb did not call on her the day that Haidar Beg Khan arrived, but he sent Nawáb Sálár Jang to say that he owed a krór of rupees to the English and he hoped she would give him the money.

When this demand was made for a krór of rupees the Begam said to Nawáb Sálár Jang: "His mind must have lost its balance or he must be talking wildly in his melancholy. What can be said of you, who are a gentleman, that you convey a message so out of place and so absurd? Ask him, you should, who has the whole of the Oudh súbah and the sarkárs of Akbarábád and Allahábád for his dominions, has he ever seen the sum of a krór of rupees or had his father ever amassed such a sum? I, who have maháls yielding four laks in my jágír, have expenses to the same amount; where can I get a krór of rupees? And if he fancies there are any accumulations of Shujá'u'ddaulah's still left, he has already carried them all off." Next day the Nawáb came with Sálár Jang and sat with the Bahu Begam. She said to him: "Is it true that you have asked me for a krór of rupees? Tell me, did you ever in your father's lifetime see so large a sum, or have you ever in the course of your own rule gathered so much into your own treasury? I have never even dreamt of so much; what is this that you are talking of behind my back?" The Nawáb flatly denied and said: "I never made any such demand." The Bahu Begam then turned to Nawáb Sálár Jang and addressed him: "Ha! my brother, this was a fine lie of a message that you coined out of your own imagination and brought to me. What good did you hope to

"get by talking like that?" Sálár Jang imposed silence on his lips and said not a word. After a while Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah remarked: "I do need a kror of rupees to pay the English, and I sent a message to that effect; but I did not ask for the money. My uncle thought I had asked for it. If you could kindly give me a part of it, I am sure that my difficulties would be lightened." "I myself," said the Begam, "do not know how much a kror is. If you want five or six laks of rupees, however, I can give them to you: but do you want a loan or a gift?" "I want a loan," he replied. When thus much had been said, the interview ended. The Nawáb went off to Ásaf Bágh, and the eunuchs came home and sat down to dine. When we heard what had passed, our minds were somewhat relieved, thinking that a friendly interview had taken place; that the Begam would give ten or fifteen laks of rupees, and the Nawáb would return to Lucknow satisfied, and there would be no more tension; that there would be no more oppression or coveting of the jágírs, and we should be safe from adversity.

When Haidar Beg Khán heard of this occurrence, he represented to the Nawáb: "Your Excellency has gone to the trouble of coming from Lucknow to raise a kror of rupees, and every one is talking and saying that you have obtained a very large sum from the Bahu Begam, but your object will not at all be effected by the small sum which the lady has promised, and we shall lose our good name because we have extorted money from her. Why, then, should we not take as much money as will effect our object? Your humble servant has thought of how this may be done. Jawáhir 'Alí Khán and Bahár 'Alí Khán are the Bahu

• “Begam’s servants and have complete control of the
 “affairs of her establishment. All her savings are in
 “their keeping. Let them be taken away from her on
 “some pretence and kept apart from her for a time;
 “then, if some slight threats be used, whatever money
 “they have in their possession will be obtained without
 “any trouble. To harry the Bahu Begam and create
 “ill-feeling is inconsistent with the relationship that
 “exists between you and her, and would never be wise.”
 The Nawáb considering this advice good, sent Áfrín
 ‘Ali Khán, one of his own eunuchs, to the Bahu Begam,
 asking her to send Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán and Bahár ‘Ali
 Khán. to him for an hour, as he had something to say
 to them.

This message caused us all consternation, and the two
 eunuchs also were lost in thought and perplexity and
 did not come to their private houses. They came out
 of the Begam’s palace, sat down in the fire-house which
 was at the gate, and attended to their six necessities.*
 The Bahu Begam sent back Áfrín ‘Ali Khán and told
 him to say to his master: “There is no barrier placed
 “between you and me. Why do you not come yourself
 “and say whatever you have got to say? What have
 “you to do with my eunuchs? They shall not go
 “to you.” When we heard this we again began to
 wonder what would happen, and we knew that the
 situation was prolonged. As the attendance of the
 eunuchs was not to be thus easily secured, another plan
 was adopted. Áfrín ‘Ali Khán came again with another
 message and said that the Nawáb had now made up his
 mind to come and stay in the old Bárahdari near the

* “Rafa’ háját sita zarúriya :” the six necessities are eating,
 drinking, sleeping, waking, making water, and stooling.

Begam, but extensive accommodation was needed for his servants and retinue: that if the Begam's sepoys who had their homes in Faizábád would go home for two or three days and take their property with them, it would suit him, for his men could occupy their quarters. The moment the Begam heard this proposal she flew into a rage and said: "All right: I know what you mean. If I understand, my presence too in the fort is objectionable. I am going to leave it."

When Áfrín 'Ali Khán left, he noticed that on each side, from the gate of the heraldic port to the outer gate of the fort, which is known as the Yakpauliya, there were living in every shop from ten to twenty of the Begam's irregulars who were under Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's orders. There was another striking feature met his eye at the same time. The detachment under Áhmad 'Ali Beg, Kaptán, and the company of regulars serving with the eunuch 'Aqalmand were under strength, and they had been ordered to enlist men and make up full strength. While this excitement was going on 'Aqalmand and Ahmad 'Ali Beg began to recruit, and for every ten men that were wanted a hundred presented themselves in hopes of employment. There was a great crowd of unemployed. When the throng was at its height Áfrín 'Ali Khán passed in his palankeen and he told the sepoys to vacate the shops and remove their property, for the Nawáb's followers were coming to occupy them. When the Begam's sepoys heard his words, they thought as little of him as a fly or a straw, and spoke to him harshly and insolently, and called him vile names, and said they would not move an inch without the Bahu Begam's order,

not for Āsafu'ddaulah; nay, even if Shujá'u'ddaulah, Safdar Jāng, and Burhānu'lmuḥk rose from their graves and begged them, it was impossible for them to move. Āfrīn 'Alī Khān misrepresented to the Nawāb the circumstances under which these expressions were used and exaggerated them. As the words had been spoken in a loud voice and there were spies of both parties present in the public crowd, who used to convey information to their employers every moment, the Nawāb Begam heard of the whole occurrence and sent a message to the Bahū Begam saying: "What is this unexpected and unusual news that I hear? I intend to come over and see you and find out all about it." The Bahū Begam sent back word: "You are my senior, and I should be sorry to give you the trouble to have yourself conveyed here. I shall come over and see you." It will be observed that, if the Nawāb Begam had entered the fort with her supporters and the Bahū Begam had continued firmly to hold her place there with her retainers and had not left her quarters, it is unlikely that such evils would have ensued as hereafter followed; but, as God had doomed houses to decay, families to ruin, and this long-standing system of semi-independence to fall, the Bahū Begam left her palace in the fort on the afternoon of Friday the 25th Muharram 1196 A. H. [10th January 1782 A.D.].

When the Begam's litter arrived in front of the mosque built by 'Alī Beg Khān, which is within the fort, the Muwazzin was calling to public prayer. It had hitherto been the custom that, when the younger Begam was going to visit the senior Begam, altogether about four or five hundred men, sepoy, dependents, servants and others, accompanied her as an escort. On

this occasion, as she had entered her conveyance in a rage and had resolved on quitting her residence in the fort, her servants of every grade could no longer think of remaining in the fort. Her whole armed force, who were about two thousand, and her eunuchs great and small, with their dependents, came with her in a body, bringing with them their indispensable baggage. As from the fort to the Motí Bágh in the Chauk Bázár, where the Nawáb Begam lived, in itself no very great distance, the road was so narrow that the sepoys could not march before her, they lined the road on both sides from the gate of the fort to the Motí Bágh until the Bahu Begam's litter had passed. But every gentleman and all the bodyguard, as well as the Begam's servants and the friends of the eunuchs, who had not been accustomed to escort her litter, now accompanied her armed and ready; and the irregulars and the regulars, without the orders of their commandants or the permission of their officers, stood on the alert with the fuses of their guns burning. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, who was Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's private agent, and the writer of these pages were together accompanying the litter. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán left Shekh Járulla of Kasmandi with six unarmed door-keepers, who were old servants of his, on his premises to close the doors on both sides and watch his money and other property. In the same way some respectable man was left in charge of Bahár 'Ali Khán's house. His private savings and the Begam's cash which came in from the jágírs were all in Bahár 'Ali Khán's custody. Just as the Begam's litter was coming out of the fort, Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán bowed and presented a nazr. It was not accepted.

They say that, when the Nawáb heard all the circumstances of his mother's departure from the fort, he wanted to go in a hurry and apologize and entreat her and induce her to return to the fort, but Haidar Beg Khán said to him: "If you wish to go, wait for an hour. She is only going to the Nawáb Begam's; that too is her home and she is constantly going there." At this moment arrived Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán and said: "It is not advisable that Your Excellency should go to apologize now. Things there have gone too far. The sepoys, both infantry and mounted, have their fuses alight and their muskets loaded." As it was, however, the Bahu Begam was wholly ignorant of her sepoys being in the bázár and having their fuses burning ready to apply to their muskets. The Nawáb, when he heard of this move, put off his proposed visit. The Bahu Begam entered the Motí Bágh with forty carts carrying her waiting women and slave-girls: and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán alighted at the quarters occupied by Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, the Nawáb Begam's eunuch, which were close to her gate.

As Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán has been frequently mentioned in these pages, it is necessary

An account of Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán.

that the reader should be informed of his origin and his end, so that account of him may not be lost in course of time. There is a town called Safipur about twenty-four miles south of Lucknow. Fazl 'Azím Khán was one of the Shekhzádas of this place. In his childhood there was no school-master to be found there. He came to Lucknow to learn Persian and began to read Sa'di's Gulistán with some one, and a place was fixed upon where he used to go to eat his food. This is the rule in the case of

students of Arabic, not of those who study Persian. He used to go from his lodgings every morning, a small boy with his Gulistán under his arm, to the school, where other little boys were learning; on the road stood the house of Nawáb Ibráhímu'ddín Khán, Nawáb Sarfaráz-u'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán's paternal uncle. The Khán was generally sitting on his housetop overlooking the road when the lad passed. Fazl 'Azím used to salute the Nawáb as he passed every day, and the latter said to him one day, in the way old men joke with boys: "Maulavi, what are you reading?" The Nawáb thought that he was studying Arabic. The boy, who was reading the Gulistán, replied: "Mízánu'ssarf." * The Nawáb was an ignorant man, and some of his ways indeed savoured of lunacy. He did not know the difference between the Gulistán and the Mízán. The boy was thereafter nicknamed the Maulavi. When a great man says anything about an inferior, it generally sticks to him, though it be inapplicable. One day the Nawáb called him up to his housetop and invited him to sit down and eat with him: and he asked him to come occasionally to see him. So after two or three days more Fazl 'Azím made it his practice to go up to the housetop, speak to the Nawáb, sit a while and come away, until at last one day the Nawáb said to him: "What need is there for you to go to another place to get your food? Leave it, come to me and dine with me every day." The Maulavi had scored a great point, for a great man had without a word from him said what his heart was longing for him to utter. What does a blind man want but two eyes? He jumped at

* An elementary treatise on Arabic Grammar.

the offer, left his old lodgings at once and came. As the Nawáb had no son, he had brought up his nephew, Hasan Razá Khán, as a son, and was extremely fond of him. As Fazl 'Azím and Hasan Razá were of the same age, they became fast friends, and when Ibráhím Khán died, Fazl 'Azím continued to live with Hasan Razá Khán, and when the latter was presented at Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah's court, and was appointed superintendent of the kitchen and audience-chamber, he made Fazl 'Azím his deputy in both departments. He did not receive much consideration in Shujá'u'ddaulah's time. The Nawáb used to dine with the Begam inside the ladies' quarters. Fazl 'Azím, being the deputy of Hasan Razá, who was then familiarly known as Mírza Hasnu, used to bring the dishes to the Begam's door and hand them in to Dhaniya, Paniya, or Maniya, the Begam's slave-girls, to take in to the Nawáb, and was proud to call these women sisters, and many hundreds of rupees he slipped to them. Thus it was they came to his rescue on one occasion. At dinner hour food used to come from six places: the main kitchen under Mírza Hasnu's superintendence, where two thousand rupees were expended on provisions every day; the minor kitchen, which had formerly been managed by Mírza Hasan 'Ali, keeper of the Nawáb's wardrobe, but was subsequently placed under 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, where three hundred rupees were daily spent; the Bahu Begam's kitchen, in charge of which was Bahár 'Ali Khán; the Nawáb Begam's palace, from which some dishes came every day; Mírza 'Ali Khán's house; and Nawáb Sálár Jang's. These contributions used all to be set out together. A fly happened to be found in a dish sent in by the Maulavi, and the Nawáb inquired where the dish had come from.

Dhaniya knew that, if she named Mírza Hasnu or Fazl 'Azím, they would at once be punished, and so she said that it had come from Sálár Jang's. The Nawáb said nothing and Mírza Hasnu and Fazl 'Azím escaped. They were saved from many a punishment by the attentions and flattery they paid to these women.

After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, when Ásafu'ddaulah transferred his residence to Lucknow, Hasnu became a minister of the súbah, and was invested with the title of Sarfarázu'ddaulah. Considering the places of head of the kitchen and audience-chamber beneath his dignity, he conferred them on Fazl 'Azím, who, although he sometimes described himself as Hasan Razá's deputy, was really himself the holder of these appointments. Owing to his constant attendance on Ásafu'ddaulah he came to be called Fazl 'Azím Khán, but, as he had been in his early days known as Maulavi, that title clung to him as long as he lived. He had one brother, called Paik 'Ali Khán, and two cousins, one his paternal uncle's son, the other the son of his paternal aunt, named respectively Ghulám 'Azím Khán and Ghulám Makhdúm. Each of the four cousins used to appear at the levées in his turn and had the right of private entrèe.

After Ásafu'ddaulah's death, in the time of Wazír 'Ali, who occupied the seat of government for only four months, Fazl 'Azím was removed from the appointments he had held, and Tafazzul Husen Khán, who became minister of the súbah after Hasan Razá Khán's dismissal, selected from among his own relations Khwájá Ghulám Muhammad *alias* Bará Mírza and appointed him in his stead. About the same time the four cousins died one after the other.

The day that the Begam entered Motí Bágh, Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, the lessee of the transactions with his mother resumed. ^{Asafu'd'daulah's} jágírs, who had some days before seen the drift of affairs, had taken the precaution to call in to the Begam's aid the collectors of maháls, of whom there were eight with eight faujdárs, exclusive of the faujdárs of the smaller zilás. Each of them came into Faizábád with all his followers and supporters. The Begam's sepoy's who were stationed in these places, and the lessee's servants and the faujdárs' subordinates and most of the landholders of the villages, who were well satisfied with the good administration, came in with them. These collectors and their crowds of followers, joined by a contingent from Faizábád, formed up in a line on both sides of the road from the fort to the southern turnpike or outpost, which is known as the Allahábád Náka, a distance of two miles. The shopkeepers of the city closed their shops for fear of plunder, and stood watching. The host of onlookers and the presence of five or six thousand armed men in the city created a formidable show. There were also about four or five hundred persons, men of rank and prominent citizens and members of the Begam's and the eunuchs' bodyguards, who were standing at the palace gate armed for a fight, ready to share the danger and sacrifice their lives. In the same way the inner gate leading to the Begam's residence was also thronged with guards. There were many onlookers in the Chauk Bázár who had taken bedsteads and tables and placed them before the shops to stand on.

Mírza Jákan, son of Hakím 'Ali Husen Khán, had insisted out of friendship on taking Akhwand Ahmad

'Ali and me to his house, which was close by, and had made us his guests. About nine o'clock in the evening a messenger came and informed us that a Company's regiment had come in from the west by the Dihli Darwáza and occupied the fort, and that now there were regulars mounting guard at the Bahu Begam's gate and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán's houses, and at the gates of the fort on three sides as well as on the north overlooking the river: and they had placed a cannon at each gate. This announcement reduced us to despair and our silly hope that Ásafu'ddaulah would remember that the Begam was his mother and that his affection would assert itself, and harmony would be restored, was wholly dispelled.

The Begam's enemies now came to the conclusion that the Bahu Begam had left the fort at the advice of her eunuchs in order thereby to frighten the Nawáb Wázir into relinquishing his demand for money, that he might be induced by fear of public disgrace or moved by sympathy and affection to apologize. They said to themselves that this was the crisis, if the Nawáb Wázir gave way, they would lose the object of all their labours and devices of years past; whereas, if he only winked a little at them, their whole end would be gained; that the Begam and her advisers would feel that he was her son, and would assure themselves that he was only acting ungenerously; and so they would not on any account go without the money. It was on this conclusion that the order was given for the regiment to occupy the fort.

As there was now no doubt of a rupture having taken place, messages no longer passed between the

two parties, and complete distrust ensued. 'Ambar' 'Ali Khán and Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, two eunuchs, who were reputed to be Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's brothers, and were on terms of harmony and amity with him more than fraternal, and who were employed by the Nawáb Wazír in Lucknow, agreed that Yúsuf 'Ali Khán should be sent to negotiate, that there was no danger of his being molested. The first time he came, it was about 9 P.M. He delivered some messages from the Nawáb Wazír to the Nawáb Begam, and then he turned to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and used several threats of his own invention to him, and said the Nawáb Wazír says so and so about you. The reason of this was that when the Nawáb Wazír was returning from Banáras, Yúsuf 'Ali Khán first came into Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house, and being glad to see him, saluted him. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, considering himself an elder brother, remained sitting when he embraced him. This greatly offended Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, and so, when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was in confinement, he frequently complained of this to me. In short, now that he came as the Nawáb Wazír's representative, he was so small-minded and ungenerous as to use the opportunity to say whatever he pleased. True men only say resentful things when the facts of the occurrence which lead to them are fresh in the other party's mind. As this occurrence had taken place four months before and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had quite forgotten it, Yúsuf 'Ali Khán's conduct was pointless.

Yúsuf 'Ali took leave and returned to the Nawáb Wazír. Next morning, Saturday, the sepoy's who had been standing under arms in the Chawk Bázár for six watches without food or drink, were still found there steady as a rock. Not one of them had moved. But

there was a great crowd at the Begam's palace gate; servants of the Nawáb Begam's other than sepoy, such as physicians; servants of the Bahu Begam's; friends of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán; companions of other eunuchs; and most of the principal citizens of independent means, who remembered that they were residents of the city, and that the Begams were their patrons and the eunuchs were their friends; and many of all these were present to show that under such circumstances they were ready to rally round their masters. For they were sure that there was only a passing quarrel between the mother and her son, and some day mutual good will would be restored: the dry channel would again flow with water, and the loyalty of to-day would then bear fruit. Some who could not find room to sit, owing to the limited accommodation of the buildings at the palace gate, sat in the Chauk near the gate, and came and showed themselves every now and then.

In the midst of this Mírza Jamshed Beg made an offer. He commanded a troop of Turk irregulars and he had seven hundred mounted men with him. He had been entertained by Shujá'u'ddaulah, and he was excessively dissatisfied with Haidar Beg Khán, because he would not pay the troop which he commanded, but was anxious to disband it. He could not, however, find a pretext then for this. A year later he did, and broke up the troop. Mírza Jamshed Beg now sent one of his Turk irregulars, a Hindú, a native of Baiswára, whom he could trust, and who had a brother, a landed proprietor of Tilo,i, then with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, with a message, asking that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán might tell the Bahu Begam that he as an old

servant of the family would, if the Begam would only give him a quiet hint, take Haidar Beg unawares, when he was camping in an open place, and sweep down upon him; that he would carry him off, if he resisted, and bring him to the palace gate like an old woman, with his hands tied behind his back: that old servants were ready now to show their loyalty and risk their lives, if the Begam would only take them by the hand afterwards. As Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was of a timorous disposition, he was afraid of meddling in any matter in which there was any fear of a collision between influential people, and he drew back and told the landholder who was with him to be very careful and not to dare to mention such a subject again. The bearer of the proposal was disheartened and returned.

The extraordinary part of it is that the Bahu Begam, solely because of what she had heard Afrin 'Ali Khán utter to the effect that her sepoy and servants should vacate the houses they occupied, was so out of temper that she left the fort and went to the Nawáb Begam's house, and yet she kept saying to herself that after all the Nawáb Wazír was her son and was only led away by some disloyal people, and he would surely return to obedience; and she had no idea that there would be any fighting or bloodshed. The excitement and tension, the show of fight and the blustering, were wholly the creation of the military. How was she to conceive a notion of resistance for she had never had but the one son, and it is not uncommon, in either the higher or lower grades of life, for a mother and son to fall out and yet a deadly hatred not to ensue. And in this case where there were only eunuchs and slaves at her hand, they were not the stuff to come between

their masters or advise any step without the Begam's orders or without informing Jawáhir 'Ali Khán.

Mírza Ahmad 'Ali Kaptán and the eunuch 'Aqá-mand made a bold and vigorous dash into the fort and dragged out with the help of their sepoy's five or six cannon which were in the fort. The English officers who were with the regiment inside the fort, not having permission to fight, took no notice and made no resistance. In the middle of each gateway, three of which there were in the entrance to the fort in the heart of the Chauk, they placed a cannon, and in the gate of the fort where there was a Company's gun mounted pointing south, they placed another close up to it pointing north. And they ordered the irregular cavalry to leave their horses below and go up to the roof of the triple gateway. These men, who were more than two hundred, went up with muskets and lighted their fuses. It was meant that, if the Nawáb Wazír's troops advanced by this route to fight, the men below should engage them there while the others attacked them from the top of the triple gate.

On Saturday, the 20th of Muharram 1196 A.H. [5th January 1782 A.D.], when it was past 10 A.M. and the difficulty had not been solved and there was no knowing how it would end and how long it would last, 'Ambar 'Ali Khán suddenly came from the Nawáb Wazír's encampment, went into the Begam's palace, and addressing the Nawáb Begam said: "His Excellency has sent me to say that he wishes to come to see you, but he has learned from some informers that the servants of his respected mother are blocking the way with artillery, and he cannot venture to approach. If his

“mother has drawn up men to oppose his advance, he cannot think of facing them. If they are to menace any one else, kindly say who he is, so that His Excellency may join her forces and fight her enemies.” The Nawáb Begam turned to the Bahu Begam, and said: “Madam, have you heard your son’s message? What am I to say in reply?” The Bahu Begam said: “I know nothing about it. Who is it who has drawn up the troops and threatens to fight? Perhaps it is Jawáhir or Bahár.” They, who had been standing in the presence of the ladies from early morning, said: “We have been present with your ladyship and we know nothing about what is going on outside. How could we venture without your orders to think of fighting with your son our master? We are wholly ignorant of the matter.” ‘Ambar ‘Ali Khán went on: “They have even planted guns to cover the Company’s troops who are lodged in the fort.” The Bahu Begam then ordered that the guns should be made over to Asafuddaulah’s troops. The moment the order was given, the Nawáb Wazír’s gunners came and took the guns from the Begam’s artillerymen, and drew them off to the camp with their own hands, while the Begam’s gunners boldly broke into a volley of abuse and shouted: “Would that we were the servants of a man! We have been eating the salt of this house for long years and drawing our pay every month; we have for a long time wished to shed our blood before our illustrious mistress’ eyes. After many prayers God has brought the chance to-day, and it too this woman and her eunuchs have let slip. A thousand curses on the service!” In relating this occurrence I have made use of polite terms, but they used rude

and unjustifiable expressions. The fools did not recollect that on the one side was a mother and on the other her son. Who were they that merely to please them, and to test their courage and discipline, she should fight with Ásafu'ddaulah and cause bloodshed? When the guns had been carried off the ardour of the sepoy was somewhat abated, but they continued as they were posted. 'Ambar 'Ali Khán returned and reported everything correctly.

I write whatever I either saw or heard without exaggeration or minification. While 'Ambar 'Ali Khán was delivering the Nawáb Wazír's message to the Nawáb Begam inside the palace, some eunuchs came and told Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and others who were in waiting with him outside, that the Nawáb Begam had told the Bahu Begam that, if she meant to fight, she too was with her; "Let us," she had said, "get into our litters and go out, and though it is likely that your son may be defeated, he may not be; because, though the rest of the old army has perished, there are still some of the old cavalry officers left in the Nawáb Wazír's force who are well aware of our rank and station, and they are dissatisfied with your son: so probably his hopes may be blasted." The Bahu Begam replied: "God bless me, what is this you say? He is my only son, and the joy of my heart. How could I wish him to be defeated? Let him do what he likes." And she turned suddenly to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán and said to them: "This whole excitement and misunderstanding is due to you. If you can, go to him. You are his father's slaves. If he will punish you, submit to it, for it is no disgrace to you. If you know of any place where you can be

“safe from his anger, go there. Expect nothing from me.” As it was an affair between mother and son, and they had no other status but that of slaves and servants and had always been dancing attendance on the Bahu Begam, the moment they got this clear expression of her will, they were astounded, but dared not make any reply.

When ‘Ambar ‘Ali Khán told Nawáb Asafu’daulah what he had seen, the Nawáb’s counsellors asked him : “Well, now that you have seen for yourself, tell us how many sepoys according to your estimate did you see?” “Although,” said he, “my estimate is not, I believe, absolutely correct, yet there are men standing closely packed together on both sides of the road the whole way from the gate of the fort to the gate of the city. They and those present at the palace gate seem altogether to be about ten thousand men. God knows how many they really are.” The Nawáb Wazír’s advisers ventured no opinion as to how this gathering was to be dispersed, and the eunuchs to be laid hold of. ‘Ambar ‘Ali Khán came back again from the Nawáb Wazír and delivered a message that, if the sepoys who were posted in the Chauk Bázár would withdraw, he would come to see the Begams. An order was given that they should retire and draw up in Dábásar, a plain south of the city, where Parshád Singh’s cantonment, in which were quartered two regiments, had stood in Shujá’u’daulah’s time, and where Dáráb ‘Ali Khán has now built a small house in which he lives. ‘Ambar ‘Ali Khán accordingly took these troops with the Bahu Begam’s permission out with him, and led them to the place she had named. As soon as this was done, the Chauk Bázár and indeed

the whole city became deserted. Buying, selling, and all business stopped. People stood scattered at the corners of the streets and in lanes watching to see what the end would be; but the five hundred or so people who were at the palace gate did not leave.

Prior to this, that is from the time the Bahu Begam left the Motí Mahal and entered Motí Bágh and the soldiers were posted in the Chauk till they went out of the city, her troops and artillery seemed to the Nawáb Wazír's agent like the waves of the sea. The numbers on our side, however, appeared to the other party greater than they were, because they were pent up in the middle of a city, and they in their turn thought the Nawáb's contingent as numerous as they were, and every one knows that under such circumstances of uncertainty both parties are beset by distrust and fear. The Nawáb Wazír's advisers feared that, if an engagement took place, there would be no room to draw up in line where cannons and muskets could be used, and that there would instead be a house-to-house fight and small arms be called into use: and the common folk on that side said to themselves that it was to be feared that the two Begams would come out together and the old soldiers join them and mutiny, and the villagers would side with them: this would lead to great confusion.

Haidar Beg Khán was exceedingly cunning and had a great knowledge of men, and planned everything that he did so skilfully that nothing he attempted ever failed. This all was proved in the time of Asafu'd-daulah. In Shujá'u'ddaulah's time certainly no plot or device of his succeeded. His elder brother was removed from the criminal administration of two maháls

and died a shameful death, and he too would have perished in the jaws of death had not Bahár 'Ali Khán intervened and the Begam entreated for him. With all his qualities, however, one thing he lacked. He was wanting in courage and he was afraid to fight. Thus in Shujá'u'ddaulah's time he held the magisterial executive charge of Sultánpur, Rudauli, Daryábád, and Karah in the Allahábád Sarkár, but he never once faced the villagers in a stronghold or on the open field, as collectors are accustomed to do, but he sat in a fort and threatened tenants and landlords with his pen. And on this occasion when there was a splendid opportunity for him to fight, he was in a state of terror, and sought to capture the eunuchs by fraud and deceit. Although money was above all things most needful, he desired more than everything else to avenge himself for Bahár 'Ali Khán's mission to Calcutta and the base suggestion he had made to Káshí Ráj, his agent at Calcutta, under the circumstances already narrated. It was chiefly from this motive that he exerted himself so vigorously to get them into his clutches.

To continue, some messengers brought in word that 'Ambar 'Ali Khán had solved the difficulty and had moved the whole army out of the city. Some rustic attendants, who were called orderlies, such as Bhawáni Singh, Nawáz Singh, Rustam 'Ali and others, suggested to the Nawáb Wazír that, if he now sent one company of regulars, they could easily capture the eunuchs: but the messengers said that the eunuchs were in attendance on the Begam inside the palace, and about a thousand men, the Nawáb Begam's sepoy and members of the bodyguard and respectable men of good families in the city, were posted at the palace gate, and thus it would be impossible to get at the eunuchs.

In this excitement Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's sense of self-respect told him that he should not make himself the butt of insult and should not go to the Nawáb Wazír, for God only knew what might happen; that the Begam's troops were standing under arms outside the city; that they would probably assist him as he had for years past been their patron; that he should ride out and join them; that no one could then seize him without a fight, and if he were killed it would be better than that he should be submitted to public insult. He determined to adopt this course and he came out to the spot where his horse was, behind the Motí Bágh under a pákar tree near Hasan 'Ali Khán's door, and stood there. He had a bundle of clothes consisting of some shawls and wraps and some spare suits, which he had given me to keep, and two hundred gold coins tied up in two handkerchiefs, a hundred in each, and one was in each side-pocket. He was ready to start, when up came Hasan Razá Khán's orderly and delivered a message that no device would be of any avail now, and that, though he thought Hasan Razá Khán his enemy, he was still the same old, firm, and true friend that he had been; that in his opinion it would be best for him to come to the Nawáb Wazír without being summoned, for after all he was his old master's son, and he would do nothing to cause him disgrace or shame. Bahár 'Ali Khán shouted: "I will go first and present myself. He is my lord and master. Whatever is his will, I submit to it." When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán saw that Hasan Razá Khán advised this course, and Bahár 'Ali Khán was ready to go, he felt that, if he remained, the blame of the whole disturbance would be laid upon him, and that he must accept his fate and go. When the

two were ready to leave and asked the Bahu Begam's permission to start, the Nawáb Begam sent Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, her own confidential eunuch, with them, and told him to admonish Ásafu'ddaulah in her name and say that she had sent him these two persons out of regard for him, although they had done nothing wrong and he groundlessly fancied that they had; that he was to forgive them and send them back to her.

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán mounted their horses and went with Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán to Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah. When leaving they ordered that no one should accompany them save one servant for each: but Mír Nişár 'Ali, who was looked on as Bahár 'Ali Khán's brother, and Khurram, a eunuch boy, whom Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had taken under his wing, followed at a distance. One of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's messengers named Jíwan also followed. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, Muhammad Hayát, supervisor of the kitchen, and I, remained sitting silent in Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's house, anxiously awaiting the result.

When the eunuchs arrived in Ásaf Bágh, the Nawáb Wazír was in his retiring room, and they remained standing. Bahár 'Ali Khán had tied his hands up in his handkerchief and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had secured his with the corner of the shawl which he was wearing thrown across his shoulders. When the Nawáb came out, they bowed to him in this submissive attitude and he put out his hands and unloosed theirs with the utmost condescension, led them into the apartment which served as his bedroom, and bade them sit down. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán delivered to the Nawáb Wazír his grandmother's message, while the vilest servants were

sô low minded and insolent as to draw their swords " from their scabbards and commence passing them to one another, saying: "What are they after all, and "where do they come from? If only the Nawáb Wazír "would place the sword in the hands of his serv- "ants—" as much as to say: "You were only just this "moment ready to fight and oppose us, and you are "now fallen into our power: here you are without a "weapon and we have all these weapons." The Nawáb Wazír told the eunuchs to remain where they were: that perhaps it was their sepoys who had lit the fuses of their muskets in Faizábád with the intention of resisting the Company's regiment that was in the fort: and that Mr. Middleton was therefore displeased with them; that he would go himself to the Resident's tent, make their excuses for them, and return. He entered his conveyance and went to the deer park, which Shujá'u'ddaulah had laid out, a large plain where the Resident's and Haidar Beg Khán's tents were pitched. He told them how things were: that his grandmother had sent the two culprits; that he had forgiven them and was sending them back. Haidar Beg said: "Then all the toil, trouble, and labour of these "many days is to go for nothing. The reports which "have spread from Delhi to Calcutta have been vain "and we gain nothing. Keep them for one hour. "You will at once get a krór of rupees. These are "golden geese which have fallen into our hands." The Nawáb Wazír looked to Mr. Middleton, and he made a sign that he concurred with Haidar Beg. The Nawáb Wazír had no help for it now, yielded to their advice, and returned to the Ásaf Bágh. He addressed the eunuchs and said: "I have returned after interceding

• “for you with Mr. Middleton. Better it is that you
 “too should go for a while to make your own excuses.
 “You will go with Maulavi Fazl ‘Azím Khán to the
 “gentleman’s tent. He will do what I have told him.”
 The Maulavi went with them. When their horses
 arrived near the tents occupied by the English Resident
 and the minister, the Maulavi hurried on his elephant,
 while some of the Turk cavalry, who were escorting the
 Maulavi, remained behind and surrounded the eunuchs.
 The latter now grew suspicious, but they had nothing
 left but to proceed. When they arrived opposite Mr.
 Middleton’s tent they dismounted. The Resident came
 out, bade them good-day, told them he was drinking
 tea, and told them to take a seat for a moment in another
 tent which was close by and unoccupied: he would
 come to them when he had done. As everything had
 been prepared beforehand, and the second tent had
 been set apart for their imprisonment and some match-
 lockmen had been hidden round about it, to sit there
 and to be imprisoned were one and the same thing.

Jíwan, messenger, first returned and whispered to
 Akhwand Ahmad ‘Ali: “They have been imprisoned,
 and a regiment placed to guard them.” He was struck
 dumb with astonishment and bewilderment. Then
 Mirza Isma‘íl, who had seen the world, and was an
 associate of Maṭbú‘ ‘Ali Khán’s, quoted this quatrain
 apropos of the occasion:—

Not for a sovereign’s diadem my heart hath framed
 a fond desire :

To shoeless freedom of the footlike begging vagrant
 I aspire.

This message, breeze of morning, to Sikandar and
 Sulaimán bear :

“Mine be the realm of indigence, the pomp of em-
 pire yours to share.”

After an hour Mír Nişár 'Ali came to the Begam's door, uttered a cry and fell down insensible. Maţbú 'Ali Khán followed close on his heels, entered the harem and told what had occurred. The Nawáb Begam flew into a passion and used violent language. The Khán left her and came to his own house, and finding Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali utterly disappointed, broken down, and inconsolable, advised him to be patient and silent. I left with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali to go and sit down somewhere. Notwithstanding the former acquaintance and extreme intimacy which had existed between all of us, and that before this nearly every one was anxious that I should talk and be on familiar terms with him, not one of the eunuchs or my other old friends would, now that fortunes had changed, look at me or ask me to sit down. There was a small masonry platform near the palace gate, on which a butler used to cool water with saltpetre for Maţbú 'Ali Khán. There was a reed mat spread on it. I sat down. Here Mián Shafaqat, one of the Nawáb Begam's eunuchs, a kind-hearted and humble man, had a small hut large enough to hold two beds. It was covered with a tiled roof, and he used to keep quails and partridges in it. In the evening, when the sky became overcast with clouds and some drops of rain began to fall, he took pity on me and asked me to come in and sit down. The place was filled with split bamboos; for they used to make cages there. It had not been swept out for years, and stank abominably. There was not even a lamp. Counting this shelter a paradise vouchsafed of God, I sat down on an old mat that was lying in a corner, and the words of Sháhjahán came to my mind: "Yesterday I had nine hundred thousand cavalry at my

- "command: to-day I have not even a groom to hold "my stirrup." Then all of a sudden the rain began to pour and a violent wind to blow. The earth and sky became darkened. Yet in all this storm ten or twenty public criers were going through the Nawáb Wazír's camp and the city of Faizábád, proclaiming with beat of drum that, if any servant of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's or Bahár 'Ali Khán's appeared carrying arms, he was to be disarmed, arrested, and punished. The reason of this proclamation was that Chet Singh, the zamíndár of Banáras, who had recently rebelled, had done so solely because he had a great number of supporters; and the Nawáb Wazír's party feared that, as Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had had the patronage of the Begam's army in his hands, the disbursement of pay, promotions, distribution of rewards, and so forth, and as very many of the landlords and tenantry, rájas and rájas' sons, and other gentry, had enjoyed great security under Akhward Ahmad 'Ali's administration for five or six years, and were grateful and obliged to him for his kind treatment of them, they might, being all then on the spot, create a disturbance, and like Chet Singh cause an insurrection. This was an utter mistake on the part of the Nawáb Wazír's advisers, for there is a difference between servants and subjects. Rája Chet Singh was in possession of a hereditary estate, and all the Banáras district and its population were his subjects and bound to obey him. In this case it was a connection of servants. Soldiers are bound by their pay. If there be any hitch about that, they turn against their employer. It has time after time been seen and heard how soldiers of the lowest rank have for the sake of ten or twenty rupees insulted, nay killed, their officers.

• To resume, when the news reached the ears of the officers who were with the ten thousand at the southern outpost, waiting to hear word of their master, they became uncontrollable, and it was as if "the day when brother shall flee from brother"* had come. First, the arrest of one like their discerning patron; second, the loss of employment; third, the unseasonable rain, spring showers in the cold weather, which spoiled and weighted all the uniform of the irregulars, which was lined with cotton wool; fourth, the fear of losing their arms: all these anxieties to disturb them fell upon them at once. Had Rustam and Isfandiyár been there, their feet would have slipped on this field.† At last they began to give way and fled. Some took refuge in the Dargáh Barí Bu,á, others climbed up trees, and some fled to the surrounding villages. The collectors of the jágírs, who were gentlemen, had passed long years in ease and comfort and exercised authority, and travelled only on horseback or in palankeens, were now compelled to fly to the city on foot soiled with mud and dirt, and when any of them sought shelter in the house of a friend, he refused it and displayed cruel inhospitality and unfriendliness lest his house too should be plundered; and yet like foxes they entered the houses by force and would not leave, fearing that they were pursued. The reader can well imagine what was then their plight. This state of things lasted for three days and nights.

When there was some relief from the terror and incubus of Ásafu'ddaulah, the revenue police sought out

* Quotation from the Qurán.

† Here follows a reflection on the world in general not worth translating.

the collectors and magistrates of the parganas to get their pay from them: and the servants and domestics, who held their appointments under Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's signature, searched for Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, saying he was his manager and *factotum*, and they would shut him in and extract their pay from him. Four or five days afterwards he happened to come out on an urgent business and proceeded towards his own house near Sabzímandí in Bakhshi Abu'lbarakát Khán's cantonment. Some of his private sepoys, who were acting as spies and watching for this move, told their officers. These came up in crowds, like a calamity unforeseen, and surrounded him on the road. As he could not get away, he put them off with a promise, saying: "I am now walking alone and have nothing with me. If you will let me go to my house, I can make arrangements for you." They sent two or three sepoys with him and let him go. When he arrived at his house, as he was a servant of the Nawáb Begam's, he said to them plainly: "What claim have you on me? You were servants of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's and I also was one of his servants. Ask your master." The Nawáb Begam's servants turned them away from the gate at Matbú' 'Ali Khán's suggestion.

In a word, calamity followed calamity and trouble trouble from day to day.

Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and I spent three days and nights together in the eunuch Mián Shafaqat's house, which was to us narrower than the grave itself. Food and drink we had none, for the other servants, who had houses of their own in the city, had taken refuge there. My home had been at Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's. That was gone and I was now a wanderer. My bodily strength was

spent. When I prayed, I stood propping myself against the wall. My obligatory devotions I performed standing and my optional devotions sitting. On the third day Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán heard of this and sent two trays with various meats to us. The moment we had washed our hands and were proceeding to eat, there was a sudden alarm given that the Nawáb Wazír's macebearers had come to look for Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali and Mír Nişár 'Ali, Bahár 'Ali Khán's brother, and were hunting for them. All the food was carried off. I don't know who swept the dishes away. Possibly Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's servants may have carried them off, fearing that the plates might under the circumstances be removed. I, who had in my keeping a bundle consisting of clothes, some shawls, pearl necklaces, and a Dakhini dagger, was at a loss for some one to whom I could entrust them, but there was no one. I had borrowed a waterpot from Mírza Jákan Hakím for my ablutions. His men came and carried it away. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán hid Nişár 'Ali in his house and came for Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali and asked him to come, and told him he would hide him in the antechamber of the harem, where there would be only a curtain between him and the female apartments, and where the macebearers were not allowed ingress. Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali replied with the utmost indifference: "God bless you, Sir, for doing your utmost to secure my safety, but as Jawáhir 'Ali Khán has been arrested, what fear have I? I only hope to God that they may confine me where my master is. I am not going to hide or be hidden." The Khán expressed his admiration and went away. After some inquiry it was found that the macebearers had come to search for a cannon and an elephant which had been

- stationed at Salon since the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah, and trace them. When they found from others that they had been left at Salon, they returned at once. We were in peril, but "all's well that ends well."

On the third day after the eunuchs were imprisoned a domestic of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's, named Muhamdi, came by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's order to the place where I was, and told me that, when he was imprisoned, he was troubled with flatulence and up to that day he had eaten nothing, but he had felt relieved since the preceding night, and that the cook was bringing him plenty of choice food from Nawáb Sarfarázu'ddaulah's kitchen; he had eaten and now he had sent him to ask how and where Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was; that he had seen him and was now going back to tell Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. When Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali heard that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had begun to eat, he felt easier and asked for food himself. Aghá Muhammad Hasan Kashmíri, who was his sub-collector of Parsadhi, a mahál in the Salon estate, brought rice cooked in soup. When we began to eat, our throats were so dry that we could not swallow and the food seemed to scrape our throats. We did our best and swallowed a few mouthfuls, drank water and sat in silence; our eyes began to close in sleep and we felt as if intoxicated.

Five more days passed in the same way and the rain began to become lighter. Then suddenly the Nawáb Wazír began to demand money. He separated Jawáhir 'Ali Khán from Bahár 'Ali Khán and placed him in a tent by himself. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said he had been responsible for the collection of the revenues of the jágír, and that he had paid in the collections regularly, instalment by instalment, and the money

used to be deposited in Bahár 'Ali Khán's house : of it he knew nothing! When Bahár 'Ali Khán was asked for the money, he answered that the money must all be in the Motí Mahal, the Bahu Begam's house and residence. Bahár 'Ali Khán used to consume large quantities of opium. An order was given to stop the supply of the drug, so that he might be compelled by discomfort to give a clue to the treasure. This was done. The Khán was reduced to great agonies and was near dying. A servant of his fastened a small quantity of opium to the cover of a waterpot and left it in the closet. The Khán made it into pills with great difficulty and took them. He was a little more at his ease then, but he could not get the drug in the form he was accustomed to at his own house, where he used to drink it dissolved in water in a glass or cup and mixed with sugar and milk.

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán now heard that the sepoy and domestics were demanding their pay from Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, and he sent word to him to pay them up to the last day they had served him. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, although he could not touch the treasure in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house, borrowed the money from bankers outside the fort and paid each man and took his receipt. They then dispersed to their homes: and all those who had been gathered together, whether these disbanded sepoy, or the landholders or tenants, wept and cried aloud with grief. It was a wonderful scene of distress. The noise of their wailing reached the Begam's ears and she asked what it meant. Her eunuchs told her all.

"Each turned and sought his homeward way ;
The host dispersed to griefs a prey."

But Mamrez Khán Mewáti remained for three or four months at the palace gate, and would not leave until the Begam sent him away.

Although it is a digression to speak of Mamrez Khán in this place, yet many events connected with him occurred in Faizábád, and it is necessary to record them as well as other occurrences, for it is the author's object to write in detail all connected with the history of Faizábád. Mamrez Khán was a Mewáti. He came from his native place, Mewát, in his eighteenth year, and entered the service of 'Ali Beg Khán Járji, who was one of Shujá'u'ddaulah's most trusted military officers. Fortune favoured him by degrees until 'Ali Beg, being satisfied with his good service and his attention to business, ordered him to recruit Mewátis. He brought together four hundred Mewátis and was invested with subaltern rank. The day that the Mughal cavalry rose in mutiny against 'Ali Beg for their pay, he gave a signal to Mamrez Khán, who came down and charged them, so that most of them died at the hands of the Mewátis and the rest fled for their lives in disgrace. From that day he became a celebrated man in Shujá'u'ddaulah's army. After 'Ali Beg Khán's death he was attached to Basant Jhalangawála, and after that to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death the Bahu Begam entertained him in her service and appointed him to Salon with twenty-five mounted men and seven hundred foot, but she kept one hundred and fifty of his men in Faizábád to guard her palace. He too remained in Faizábád and formed a very close friendship with me. As in those days the appointment of superintendent of the treasury and of all the Begam's personal establishment was vested

in me as Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's deputy, Mamrez Khán was not the only person who sought my friendship, but all the officials who had any connection with the administration formed an acquaintance with me. The other military officers, whether in the Bahu Begam's employment or under Bahár 'Ali Khán and the Nawáb Begam, were envious of Mamrez Khán's splendid position. A picked soldier in his troop, named Shaháb Khán, went on three months' leave of absence to Mewát. He returned after the lapse of eighteen months and demanded his pay. Mamrez Khán had struck his name off the roll of the troop and enlisted another in his place. Shaháb Khán was however appointed a subaltern in command of fifty Mewátis through Yár 'Ali's influence. He aspired to equal or rival Mamrez Khán. Bhúre Khán, who headed the Mewátis in Bahár 'Ali Khán's service, and Ghási Khán, who was in the Nawáb Begam's service, conspired with him and daily instigated him to do something which would bring Mamrez Khán to shame and disgrace, promising that they would assist him when they were wanted by him. He was so foolish as to have constant collisions with Mamrez Khán, who sought to avoid him. The night before the morning that brought him death, he was leading the escort of Jawábir 'Ali Khán, who was going into the Begam's private quarters. He had some words with Mamrez Khán, and the latter bore with him and proved to their master that he was not at fault. Next day, which was to be his last, Jawábir 'Ali was in the baths which 'Ali Beg Khán had built. Mamrez Khán came, as was his wont, with ten or a dozen soldiers, who were always with him, from his house, and stood waiting to salute. Shaháb Khán, who had with Akhwand

• Ahmad 'Ali's permission taken up his quarters in the house occupied by the eunuch Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, was looking down from the housetop and saw Mamrez Khán, and came down with four soldiers and wantonly renewed the dispute of the previous night. Mamrez Khán exhibited forbearance and patience. When Jawáhir 'Ali came out, got into his palankeen and proceeded towards his house, Mamrez Khán grasped a foot of the conveyance with his hand and was going along behind it with his companions. Shaháb Khán was meanwhile keeping up a sharp and angry conversation, regardless of the respect due to the presence of his master. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was listening. In the meantime some of Mamrez Khán's troop, who were detached to guard the Begam's private quarters, had already come to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's door and were standing there. The moment that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán arrived at his own door, the bearers put the palankeen down and the criers shouted: "Bismilláhirrahmánirrahím," and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán went in. Mamrez Khán went in alone with him. All of a sudden the voices of men were heard outside. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán paused for a few moments where he was and then turned back toward the door. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, Mírza Shekhá, a special companion of the Great Eunuch, and I, were sitting in the private *arcade* awaiting the arrival of the palankeen. We ran to the door on hearing the noise, thinking that there must have been a collision between Bahár 'Ali Khán's and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's men, because the two eunuchs were then on bad terms and matters had gone so far that both had supplied their sepoys secretly with powder and ball. When we reached the door, we found Shaháb Khán and one of his

men who had accompanied him, lying dead, and another of them wounded, but living: but there was not a trace of their murderers. The regulars who were then quartered near the door, where now stands the mosque of the Imámbara, rushed up with their swords and shields to attack the murderers, when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán made a sign to them and forbade them. But there was by this time a crowd. Companies of regulars, Šábitkhánis, irregulars and others, all heard that there was a hand-to-hand fight at the Khán's door, and they ran to the spot with their arms. When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán came into the house, the crowd, notwithstanding the efforts of the macebearers to keep them out, forced their way in, until the whole courtyard, large as it was, was filled with men, shouting: "kill Mamrez Khán." I was astonished at this, for I knew that he had gone inside with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, and I could not understand how he could have any connection with this outrage. The Begam's junior eunuchs, macebearers, and domestics, were foremost in this tumult, notwithstanding their friendship and daily intercourse with him, and the receipt of rewards and gifts from him. As I was at this time employed under Aḡhwand Ahmad 'Ali, as his agent in the treasury and the pay department and in other branches, and these two companies of regulars, about two hundred men, were under the orders of 'Aqalmand Bachgána, and he had fled for no reason and gone to the Rája of Gohad, and they were under suspension and I was inquiring into their case (in fact all the sepoy and domestics were under me), I was very near saying: "Catch him, kill him," but I refrained; and the Begam's retainers, knowing that Mamrez Khán was a great friend of mine, also for this reason kept

back and did not touch him. It is very probable that, if I had then joined in the cry with the others, and said "Catch him and kill him," he would have been killed. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was standing horrified on his seat by the side of a reservoir, and Mamrez Khán was standing in silence and distress in the reservoir, which was empty, clinging to the Khán's skirts and trying to save his life. The cause of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's alarm was that the Begam had for some time been aware of the tension existing between the two eunuchs, and he feared she might suppose that this disturbance was due to his men, who were contemplating an attack on Bahár 'Ali Khán's party, and that, failing to find an outlet in that direction, they had fought among themselves. At last he recovered himself, entered his palankeen, and waited on the Begam. All his servants, small and great, went with him armed. When she inquired what this disturbance was, he made up a story and told her that there had been for some years a feud regarding an engagement between a boy and girl, and that now the Mewátis had found an opportunity to arrange a murder which had been committed there in the course of the quarrel; that there was nothing new connected with her affairs. The Begam said nothing, but Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, fearing he should be called upon for an explanation by Ásafu'ddaulah, arrested four men who had been with Mamrez Khán, and who had killed Shaháb Khán, and he made them over to me and directed me to place them in fetters and keep them in custody under a company of troops. Dhana Khán, who is now in Lucknow in the Nawáb Wazír's service in a cavalry regiment with a considerable number of men whom he has recruited for the

service, was one of those then imprisoned. Next day Mamrez Khán applied to have them released, as the men of his troop had never been submitted to the disgrace of imprisonment. His request was refused. He applied to Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali for his support, but Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, although apparently on good terms with him, had in his heart always disliked him. The reason of this dislike was this: Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali held a lease of an estate in the jágir and these Mewátis who were stationed on the estate did not obey his agents, and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was anxious to get rid of them somehow, and employ revenue police in their stead who would obey him properly. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali now finding his opportunity went to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán in the presence of a number of people, threw his turban on the ground, and said: "One servant has killed another and you, who are the master of both parties, do not punish the criminal; if any one were to kill me, there will then be the same apathy." Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was dumb and the people present applauded. Mamrez Khán, who was depending on Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's support, was thunderstruck and confounded. He lost his self-possession and was unable to speak, thinking that all the Begam's servants and sepoy's had become his enemies, and the very head agent of the establishment to whom he had looked for protection was more than all others eager for his destruction, and he believed that if he got up to leave he would be killed outside the door. He would not move all day from the spot where he was, and he hardly knew where he was sitting. His colour kept changing from white to black and from black to white. He ate nothing all day and grew bilious, and his throat

and lips became so dry that he could not even make a sign. Not a friend, small or great, took any notice of him. Most people refrained from speaking to him for fear of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's resentment or displeasure: and I was doubly distressed because I had the closest connection with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. The latter happened to say to me that he was going into the office on 'Ambar 'Ali Khán's premises to sit down, and that I was to remain in attendance on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, and I was to listen to what remarks the persons around him made, and ascertain the bent of his master's mind. When I got this opportunity, I asked Mamrez Khán by a sign of my hand what was the matter. He signed that he wanted water. As fast as I could, I procured some dry bread from a shop and asked my servant for some water in an earthen pot, and conveyed them secretly in the evening to Mamrez Khán on the top of the staircase leading to the roof. Although he did not get time to take more than a mouthful, and even that he could not swallow, still he obtained some relief by drinking the water and said: "Life is the dearest of all things. It is going. What am I to do?" When I saw this, I was overcome and fear moved me. I said: "Come with me to the room above the gate and spend the night with me." He said: "That would not do, for that would lead to disagreement between you and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, and God knows into what trouble you would fall; you would find it difficult to maintain your position in the service. If you continue in the service, my interests will be secured somehow by degrees." As what he said was prudent, I approved of it, and I said: "It seems advisable that you should sit where you are

"and wait for another watch to pass. When Jawáhir
" 'Ali Khán leaves, put your hand to the foot of his
" palankeen and escort him to the Bahu Begam's gate.
" There are still a hundred and fifty of your brother
" Mewátis there. Go to them and stay there, and
" salute your master there, but do not come any more
" to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's private house." He followed
this advice and escaped the attacks of the people.

After some days his enemies concerted a plan and sent for his paternal uncle's son, Bhikhári Khán, who was employed with fifty men at Simrauta, one of the maháls of the jágir. He came in with his people and demanded revenge for his brother's murder; and Bhúre Khán, that lieutenant of Mewátis who commanded a hundred men in Bahár 'Ali Khán's service, and Ghási Khán Mewáti, a servant of the Nawáb Begam's, sided with him. They bound themselves together under an oath. When he found himself supported, he applied to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to give up to him Mamrez Khán and his son, a boy only ten years of age. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said: "The actual murderers are here in custody. Take them. Mamrez Khán and his son did not kill Shaháb Khán." Bhikhári Khán replied: "Yazíd, the accursed, did not kill Imám Husen. Ibn Zi'ád and Shimar did all that was done. Why do people curse Yazíd to this day?" To this Jawáhir 'Ali Khán answered: "No one killed Yazíd in return for the Imám's death, but people were satisfied with cursing him. You curse Mamrez Khán and have done with him." Bhikhári Khán insisted on his demand. Eighteen days passed, and this contention continued. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán did not wish anything to happen to Mamrez Khán, but his domestics and attendants unanimously

agreed in counsel that, if he could be turned out through this quarrel, it would be well; but, if not, it would be harder to effect his removal afterwards.

One night Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and a learned man, named Mír Kallú, and I were sitting together. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán stated legal points, and I remained silent, although I knew the correct view, and made a sign to Mír Kallú, who ruled that the blood was on the actual murderers and not on Mamrez Khán or his son. As Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's mind was now settled, he sent for Bhikhári Khán and said to him: "The deceased has no heir but you, and the men who are with you are my servants. If I were now to remove them and place them under another officer, you would be left alone and even Bhúre Khán and Ghási Khán will not be able to do anything for you. It is better for you to forgive the murder to please me, and I will give you a thousand rupees and a shawl and the command of two thousand Mewátis." As he was a fool, he declined the offer, and said: "It is only consistent with your influence and position to grant either one of two things: either hand Mamrez Khán and his son over to me, or let the two of us, plaintiff and defendant, meet and fight it out in an open place outside the city. Let God give the victory to whom he pleases."

"To-morrow when the sun appears, I go

"With club to face Afrási,áb my foe."

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán now grew hot with rage and said: "I elect the latter alternative, on the condition that, if Mewátis join you, I shall say nothing, but, if any other people join either of you, I shall send a cannon and some of my servants to aid the other

"side." The reason of his imposing this condition was this. An influential Mewāti named Dārāb Khān had died some time before and left an adopted son who was also called Ghāsi Khān. He was now stationed as a police magistrate at Naurāhi, ten miles out of the city, with a company of irregulars. He was secretly in league with Bhikhāri Khān, and had formed a plot. He was to occupy the roof of Yūsuf 'Ali Khān's house, which is at the south gate of the fort, with fifty men with loaded muskets, and fire down a volley upon Mamrez Khān when he was passing out by the heraldic gate with his men to leave the city: and he calculated that Bhūre Khān, Bahār 'Ali Khān's employé, would come up on his rear, and Ghāsi Khān, Muharrām 'Ali Khān's servant, would come up in front, while fifty Sābitkhānis of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's, who were close at hand at 'Ambar 'Ali Khān's door, and spectators from the city, who would come up on all sides carrying arms, would close him in on the flank, and he would be killed on the spot. Some informers conveyed to Mamrez Khān intimation of this danger and he left the fort by the east gate with ten or twelve mounted men and two hundred infantry, passed through the cross-roads at Mīr Ahmad 'Ali Bānsiwāla's, and went on through Goshāin Himmat Bahādur's cantonment, and took up his position in the open space known as Dābāsar. He then addressed his companions: "I am a man of means. I shall pay you from my private purse. I care not though Jawāhir 'Ali Khān has dismissed us." On hearing his words his companions prepared to sell their lives. When Bhikhāri Khān found his hopes unrealized and his fancies vain, he hung his head and would not move. His fifty fighting men who were with him said: "You

“want to lead us to death with you. This is the time for us to fight. Tell us whose servants we are and who is to pay us.” He replied: “I am a poor man, brother of the murdered man. For God’s sake stand by me.” They replied: “We are not tired of life and we are not discontented.” He went to Bhúre, Bahár ‘Ali Khán’s servant, and laid his head at his feet. Bhúre now began to talk in a different strain: “I am servant of another: I will go to him and ask him. If he give me leave, I will join you.” At this moment a note came from Mamrez Khán to Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán, telling him he was standing in the field waiting for his opponent, but had not yet seen even his dust. Then a macebearer was sent to turn Bhikhári Khán out of Yúsuf ‘Ali Khán’s premises. There was nothing left for him but to go, and he went out with ten or a score men, cheerless and disheartened. He met Ghási Khán in the Chauk and he laid his turban at his feet. Ghási Khán was at first moved by feelings of brotherhood and lifted his flag in his own hand and accompanied him with ten or a score men. In all forty or fifty men went out to the field, and all the people of the city sat armed on the city walls. There was a wonderful commotion. The moment Bhikhári Khán and his supporters passed beyond the outpost and came face to face with their enemy, Mamrez Khán called on Bhikhári Khán to fight and shouted out: “The onus of the first attack lies on you.” While this was going on, the eunuchs informed the Nawáb Begam that Ghási Khán had gone out to assist his brother, and she dismissed him and his troop from her service. When the news of this reached him and his men, they dropped off one by one and returned to the city. This continued

till the afternoon, when Bhikhári Khán and Ghási Khán found not one supporter left. They two remained on the field till evening. Mamrez Khán then said it was not fair or brave to stand with two hundred men facing two. He dismounted and pitched his tent. Bhikhári Khán returned alone and threw himself at Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's gate, and the latter told me to tell him: "I offered you the command of two thousand men, and money and a robe of honour, but you were led astray by fools and tried to work mischief; this is the result. Leave my door and abide with those fools." He went away alone in utter distress. Mamrez Khán remained three days in the field. When the Bahu Begam heard of this, she said to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán: "Mamrez Khán has cost me a lak of rupees and has done nothing for me yet. Why should I turn him away and ruin him? Send for him with due marks of honour and let him continue on guard at my house."

When Mamrez Khán set out on his return under such flattering auspices, the whole population of the city from the highest to the lowest went forth to greet him. The people who had on another day cried: "Hit him, kill him," now met him with obsequious expressions of flattery. He entered the fort in great pomp and state. But Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali now became exceedingly perplexed and disturbed in his mind and asked me for my advice, and said: "I spoke that day in improper terms about him without cause. The worst of it is that the Bahu Begam has now shown her regard for him and recalled him with honour. He is now so proud that he raises his head to the stars. What I wanted, I have not effected and his

“men are employed in all the maháls of the jágírs.
 “If he wishes to make himself obnoxious, he can sweep
 “a lak of rupees off to Mewát when a consignment of
 “treasure is being despatched to the treasury. What
 “could I do? I shall be held responsible. Again his
 “Mewátis are in every street and lane. If he resorts
 “to treachery when I am returning home at night,
 “what is to be done?” I was quite sure of Mamrez
 Kẖán in my own mind, but I did not say so, and went
 on concurring with all he said. When night set in,
 he went to his house which was outside the fort. He
 sent his horse away and went on foot with one hundred
 and fifty men. I took my sword and shield and accom-
 panied him. When I returned, I found Mamrez Kẖán
 standing alone at my quarters waiting for me. The
 moment we met, he fell at my feet and thanked me a
 thousand times. Some spies at once went and told
 this to Akhwand Ahmad ‘Ali. In the morning when
 he came to Jawáhir ‘Ali Kẖán’s, I told him and said:
 “What have you to say? He came last night. He
 “may come now and he may not.” “For God’s sake,”
 he said, “keep up your friendship and intimacy with
 “him. Perhaps for your sake he may entertain no
 “evil designs on me.” Jawáhir ‘Ali Kẖán so far
 punished Mamrez Kẖán that he no longer permitted
 him the free access he had formerly enjoyed to his pre-
 sence. He used thereafter to salute outside the door
 like other officers of small rank. This caused him great
 grief and shame.

About this time some thieves robbed the houses of
 Boldness of thieves bankers in the city. I was ordered
 in robbing bankers. to bring in the landlords of the
 villages round about. Mamrez Kẖán was with me. On

this pretence his old freedom of ingress and egress became gradually re-established. Although the history of these thieves, who had in the evening when the lamps were burning carried off the property of the bankers from their shops, is long and the alarm they created lasted for six months, I will here give a brief account of it, as it is connected with the history of Faizábád. There was a young and muscular Hindú named Bhím Singh, the most powerful athlete of his day. He came and settled at Faizábád as an agent of Maiku Singh, one of Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah's orderlies. He was so very haughty that he looked upon every independent man in the city as a mere straw. All the eunuchs and the police officers were driven to their wits' end by his misbehaviour, but he restrained himself somewhat before Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. He was friendly with the landholders of Sultánpur and gathered round him desperate robbers, perfect masters of the art of theft, and kept them day and night in a dark confined house. Any one whom he noticed to be wealthy, he robbed at night, taking one-half of the property himself.

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán used generally an hour before sunset to go up to his housetop with his friends and shoot arrows at a target, which they placed against one of the outoffices of the heraldic gate. Below the house there was an armed guard of sepoy on every side. When the mu'azzin called to sunset prayer, Jawáhir 'Ali came down into the courtyard of his house and prayed, and the sepoy retired to their homes and laid aside their arms. While he was sitting on the housetop one evening, ten or twenty of these robbers entered the fort by the Delhi Darwáza disguised as boatmen. There were twenty-five boats belonging to the Begam. The

- boatmen used to come occasionally to me to get their wages and to ask for repairs. The intruders stood in the bázár inside the fort in one place talking together, and each had a club in his hand. One had a bundle of poisoned arrows in his waistband. They were waiting, first, for the hour when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán would come down from his housetop and his sepoy's lay aside their arms, and, in the next place, for the bankers to gather up the money they had lying about in their shops, place it in bags and prepare to put them into their boxes: and then they would fall upon them and carry off the bags. When the moment they were waiting for came, one of them jostled another. He fled. The other drew a sword and pursued him, and he threw himself on Teg Chand, a banker, who had four thousand rupees before him. The other struck Teg Chand on the arm and disabled him. The rest now ran up with a shout of alarm to separate the two men, and, lifting the four bags of money, ran as hard as they could to the deer-park, which is in the direction of the Gup-tár Ghát. On their way they recklessly struck everything and everybody they met, dogs, cats, and men, women, and children. When they reached the deer-park they dispersed. By the time the sepoy's could arm themselves, all trace of them was gone. There was a great outcry in the city. The residents went to the Begam's gate and said that, when a crime like this was perpetrated within the fort, notwithstanding the number of sepoy's there and the residence of the Begam herself, they could not manage to live outside the fort.

Next morning Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was ordered to produce the thieves and he told me to find them. Ten spies were out looking for them for fifteen days, but

could get no trace of them. At last I could do no more, so I brought in some landowners of the neighbourhood of Faizábád prisoners. The unfortunate men were for a long time kept unjustly in confinement. At last the banker some twenty days afterwards found a clue, and he came and said that, if a certain peon were arrested, the thieves would be traced. I sent a guard of regulars. The peon was not caught. His wife and a gardener's wife were arrested and brought up. It was late in the night, and I did not send for them, but ordered them to be detained in custody. Bhím Singh got word of this. He dared to send that very peon and another with two regulars into the fort, and told them to rescue the two women from custody by any and every means in their power. As it was the Bahu Begam's order that any one who entered the fort after the first watch of night had passed should be arrested, these four men were also arrested. In the morning I called up these two women first, and I questioned them. The gardener's wife said: "This woman had borrowed a rupee from me, promising that she would repay it to me when her husband, who had gone to bring some thieves, had brought them and he had got his share from them. Now that the thieves have come and have committed the theft, I cannot get payment. I was dunning her last night, when the sepoy's seized us both and brought us here." I then asked the peon's wife what was her husband's name and whose servant he was. She said: "He is called Phulundara and he is Bhím Singh's servant." We were in the middle of this interrogation, when Bhím Singh came boldly in with some reckless men on foot. He said: "Four of my men came into the fort last night to buy grass for

• ‘ my master’s bullocks, and they have been unlawfully “arrested.” I ordered them to be put forward. When they came in, the gardener’s wife at once shouted that this was the other woman’s husband. Although Bhím Singh tried to make up a story, he failed. He talked at random and was not to the point. We took him to the Begam’s gate and stated the facts. The order was given that he should be placed in irons, and made over to Hoshmand, who was the chief officer of police at Faizábád. This was done. A letter was written on the spot to Asafu’ddaulah informing him of the misbehaviour of Maiku Singh’s agent. There came an order in reply to this to blow him from a gun. When he was placed before Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán, I saw that he had wasted away and was only skin and bones. He was unable to speak and his face kept changing colour. He uttered these words with extreme difficulty: “The angel of death “is now on my back. I am all fear. I know not who “I am, where I am, or what I say.” Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán was moved when he saw him. He ordered me to take him away on a bullock-cart with a guard of regulars and send him with a report to Lucknow. When he appeared in the Nawáb Wazír’s presence, he spared his life and ordered him to go across the Ganges and never return within his dominions.

I now return to finish my account of Mamrez Khán.

Memoir of Mamrez
Khán continued.

When he escaped the danger into which he had been brought by Sháháb Khán’s death, he continued to live in security and was prosperous, when another adventure occurred. There was a half-witted beggar, one may call him mad, who took no thought for bread and water, but lay rolling in the dust night and day near Bahár ‘Ali Khán’s

house. He never asked anyone for anything and no one ever thought of taking any notice of him. The only clothing he wore was a rag about as big as the hand to cover his person. The walls of the Motí Mahal were very high, more than twelve cubits, and outside, right up against the walls on all four sides, were the lines of houses occupied by the Mewáti infantry, and they spent the whole night awake and on guard. Besides this fifty Mewáti under command of a subaltern used to walk round the palace all night playing fifes and cymbals. Then at the door of the Begam's harem there were at the first entrance a guard of regulars, at the second Baheliya infantry, and at the third near the inner door there was a staff of messengers employed to bring supplies from the bázár, and with them chelás* and headles who carried silver maces. Beyond and inside them all were Kashmiri women, big fat women, who were even better than men for watch and ward. Then came a door which used to be locked both inside and outside. Inside the seraglio near the door were all the eunuchs, about twenty-five counting both the old and the young, present on guard. In the Bahu Begam's private bedroom, where she used to sleep on an ebony bed to mark her mourning for Shujá'u'ddaulah, four smart Mughal women kept watch by turns. Whether angels or genii transported him no one knows, but this mad beggar got inside notwithstanding all these abundant precautions. With all his filthiness, especially his

* 'Chelá' here and in other similar passages denotes what is called also "Naukar Khánazád," dependents or servants born of the slave girls, and living on the premises. The word also sometimes denotes boys made eunuchs by a senior eunuch, who is termed their 'gurá'. I have sometimes translated the word chelá by "novice" when thus used.

muddy feet, he sat down on the ebony bedstead. When the Babu Begam turned over, her eyes fell upon this capital offender, and she threw herself off the bed as quick as she could and uttered a shriek. Hundreds of the women of the seraglio and the eunuchs ran in and beheld the scene. The beggar sat on in silence. For all their questioning, not a word would he utter. They brought him out and in the morning at the order of Hakím Mu'álíj Khán they cut off his feet at the ankles, and he died on the spot. The eunuchs were opposed to the death sentence, but they had no voice in the matter, and they attributed this offence to Mamrez Khán. They removed his guards and appointed a body of regulars in their stead. This was a great disgrace to him and his star began to decline. He hung his head in shame. A letter came unexpectedly from the officer attached to the Parsadhipur mahál to Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali to the effect that Masíta Khán, Mamrez Khán's brother's son, who had only attained manhood, had violated the daughter of an influential Afghán; that the young woman had thrown herself into a well from shame and committed suicide; and the Afgháns had come together and were ready to create a public disturbance. This letter happened to be read by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. I brought Mamrez Khán before Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and he said to him: "I cannot fight against fate. These daily occurrences are fortune's blows." Jawáhir 'Ali Khán in a tempest of fury replied: "Go and bring away all the men under your command with you." Mamrez Khán went and brought with him all his soldiers; four hundred were dismissed and three hundred retained. I did my utmost at this time to soothe him, telling him the days were against him,

but they would soon pass over; that he must be patient, and trust in Providence.

After some time he had more men about him and under his command than before. Heaven prospered him and times were favourable. His wife, who was a wonderfully clever and wise woman, said to him: "The days of our adversity are over, and fortune now favours us. That was a brave man who shared all your troubles with you. Tell me who he was. I wish to see him." He came and took me with him, pretending he wished me to see Muhammad 'Iláj Khán's house in which they were living. He sat me down on a bench and first of all brought out into the courtyard and placed before me thirteen horses which he had in his stables: then he laid twelve shawls on the bench: and then he presented me with a nazr of three thousand five hundred rupees, and, taking his wife and little daughter and his son by the hand, he threw himself at my feet and said: "My property and my wife and children, all I have, I owe to you. Bestow them as you please." I paused and reflected. I said to myself that if I were to take all, it would be very unwise, and if I were to content myself with a little, it would be soon spent: and I felt that moment a sufficient return for my sympathy: so I thought it better I should take nothing. I therefore replied: "I accept all, but as the place where I live is Jawáhir 'Alí Khán's door and there is no room there for all these things, keep them here with you." I rose to leave. He was even more grateful to me than before and never failed in his regard for me as long as he lived.

When Bahár 'Ali Khán was on the point of death owing to the stopping of his supply of opium, he agreed to surrender all that he had in his house. He was ordered to put this in writing. He admitted fifty-five laks and signed for that amount. They sent the agreement to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. He refused to sign it, saying that he was not the Bahu Begam's treasurer. They pressed him until at last he became helpless and was compelled to affix his seal to the agreement. Next day they put the two eunuchs in open litters and sent them off under a guard of two companies. They arrived in the Chauk Bázár. They were ordered not to go into the Motí Bágh. They remained where they were and sent and asked the Bahu Begam for permission to pay the money. They were told to pay it. The guard took them to Bahár 'Ali Khán's premises. They brought out sixteen laks of current rupees and one lak and twenty-five thousand gold pieces, and handed them over. They borrowed one lak of rupees from the Nawáb Begam and, to make up this sum, some precious stones, which were taken from the chains of huqqah-bowls, were thrown in. The money was taken and sent to Lucknow.

An order was given that the eunuchs should be fettered and fetters were placed on their feet. One day Haidar Beg Khán, who was the author of all this, came to inquire after these unfortunate prisoners and looked at them. He pretended for a while to be in tears and said: "I had no knowledge of this. I shall go and represent matters to the Nawáb Wazír and have your fetters removed." His object in this was to impress them with his power, as if he had said:

"You were bent upon my overthrow, but, instead of that, see how quickly I have managed to involve you in distress." After this he told them that their *jágirs* had been confiscated to the English, and that they could, if they liked, hold them on farm. *Jawáhir 'Ali Khán* sent for *Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali*. The latter expressed his disapproval of the proposal. Half an hour after *Haidar Beg Khán* had returned to his tent, he ordered that their fetters should be struck off. The warders removed the fetters, but the eighth day after the departure of the *Nawáb Wazír*, who went to Lucknow without bidding his mother and grandmother good-bye, they put them again on the eunuchs' feet. It was not enough to put on a single pair of fetters on each, but an order was given for double fetters. Though they were light, still they were fetters and the distress caused was obvious. After that no communication was made to show what was the offence for which they were now left behind in confinement. The eunuchs submitted quietly to their fate.

A Frenchman named *Jaques** was left behind with *Mr. Brown*,† *Mr. Head‡* and two or three others, and a regiment to guard the eunuchs and hold the fort. Captain *Jaques* removed the eunuchs from *Bahár 'Ali Khán's* house, because it was close to the *Motí Mahal* and the walls and roofs adjoined, and he lodged them in *Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's* house. They were kept in the closest confinement. The *Bahu Begam* continued to reside with the *Nawáb Begam* in

* Captain Leonard Jaques.

† Major Brown.

‡ This name I cannot verify. It may be incorrectly given.

the Motí Bágh. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and I were alone left at the gate. There were also a few young eunuchs there. Not one of them was fit to discharge any responsibility, but only equal to menial duties. 'Aqalmand, who was the greatest favourite among all Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's underlings, and had an elephant and palankeen allowed him, left the very first day and went to Hasan Razá Khán. Nishát 'Ali Khán also pitched his tent in the same camp. After some days Khurram, Suhail, and Naghat slipped away one by one hoping to better their fortunes and went to Lucknow without taking leave. Although Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali remonstrated with these men and removed all their pretexts, such as non-payment of wages, personal impecuniosity, and want of funds, still they fled, and kept flying until at last the clerks, barbers, and washermen obtained advances of their wages, whereupon they fitted themselves out and migrated to Lucknow. Shame take that gambler, Fate, who works misfortunes! Here was the Bahu Begam, the wedded wife of Nawáb Shujá'u'd-
daulah, at whose doorstep in his lifetime all the nobles of this province used to bow their heads, and esteemed it an honour to speak to her maidservants, reduced, and her old and loyal servants with her, to straits such as these in the days of her son's rule. The worst of all was that when she sent for her own brother, Nawáb Sálár Jang, to speak with him, he declined to come to see his sister, by whose grace he had risen to the ranks of the nobility. After many entreaties and much pressure he came with great reluctance and sat with her for a moment at the Nawáb Begam's private door; and then, though the lady spoke to him with so loud a voice that everyone anywhere near the door could hear her, he would not

move his lips to speak and made her no reply. He left in a few minutes trembling and alarmed, while the Bahu Begam said: "You may go: all that I looked for from you, I hope my God will do for me. He is "my keeper, my helper, and my supporter." The heads of various establishments, such as the elephant stalls, stables, cowsheds, came every day to the gate and cried out that the animals were dying for want of fodder. The answer made was: "If they are dying, let them die. I have not a copper myself."

After some days a letter came from Haidar Beg Khán, asking the Bahu Begam to send one of her accountants to Lucknow to have the value of the gold coins and precious stones estimated in his presence. Chet Rái, accountant, was accordingly sent on Akhward Ahmad 'Ali's selection. Some valutors of precious stones were meanwhile tutored and brought up before him at Lucknow. They estimated property worth fifty thousand rupees at ten thousand: and they valued every one of the gold coins, which were worth sixteen rupees each, at thirteen only. Chet Rái dared not under the circumstances utter a syllable. In this way they made out an account to suit their own wishes, showing six laks and fifty thousand rupees still due to them out of the fifty-five laks which Bahár 'Ali Khán had covenanted in writing to pay. For this sum they applied and on this pretence kept the eunuchs a whole year in imprisonment.

One day Major Brown and Mr. Head, when they went out for an airing, called to see the imprisoned eunuchs and sat down with them. They found out how they were innocent of any crime and said to them;

“ All this maltreatment to which you are subject is due
“ to counsels in which Mr. Hastings is a sharer. When
“ the details of it reach the Company in London through
“ the despatches of the Members of Council at Calcutta,
“ he will be censured, and your release will follow with-
“ out any one's intervention or exertions: and all that has
“ happened since you have been imprisoned will come
“ to be understood by you a year hence.” This afforded
them some little consolation. Two persons were per-
mitted by the English officers to visit Jawáhir ‘Ali
Khán. One was Dáráb ‘Ali Khán. I was the other.
Dáráb ‘Ali Khán went every day, and I every second
day. Whatever I had been able to gather about events
at Lucknow from the Nawáb Begam's agent, I used to
tell him when I went to see him. In this way four
months rolled over us, and not a word passed on either
side to end the situation. We were reduced to complete
despair. The eunuchs' friends and the Bahu Begam's
servants were now in extreme distress. All that they
had laid by in their houses, they had spent in this
period of idleness. When they had neither money nor
property left, they were in great straits from the want
or deficiency of the necessaries of life, clothing and food.
Mamrez Khán Mewáti appealed to the Bahu Begam:
“ Were I alone, I should stay at this door as long as I
“ lived. I have fifty persons dependent upon me. Your
“ servant will comply with whatever you may be pleased
“ to order in his case.” The answer was given: “ Unless
“ the jágír be restored, the Begam can do nothing. Let
“ him go somewhere for some time and do what he can
“ for himself. When better days come, the Begam
“ will provide for him.” The poor fellow kissed the
doorsteps in tears and left in grief.

At this juncture the Bahu Begam received a letter from the Nawáb Āsafu'ddaulah and The Nawáb Wazír and Haidar Beg write an application from Haidar Beg to the Begam. Khán. The former was to the effect that the outlaw, Rája Balbhadra, had come into her jágírs with a large following of villagers and was creating a public disturbance; and that this was probably done at Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's instigation. The Nawáb Wazír went on to advise her to admonish the eunuch or he would himself call on him for an explanation. The application forwarded by Haidar Beg Khán was to this effect: "Six laks and fifty thousand rupees are still due from the eunuchs. As this sum is due to the English, it is hoped that you will order them to pay it. They are imprisoned for this money. Sarfarázu'ddaulah and your correspondent are your servants. We are utterly helpless in this matter, or we should not fail to do our utmost to serve you." The Bahu Begam ordered Khairu'nnisá, her letter-writer, to draft a reply to each of these communications. She wrote according to her own notions. As her handwriting was bad, Kapúrchand, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's secretary, was told to make fair copies. He was a slow writer and could not copy them in a whole day, although the draft had been prepared by another. The Bahu Begam grew tired of his slow performance and sent Zamurrad, a eunuch, to Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and told him that, as he knew, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who was her secretary, was not then within her reach, but he used to talk a great deal of the abilities of one of his clerks, Lachhmi Náráin, as a letter-writer; that he was now to find out where he was and to send for him. Lachhmi Náráin was a great master of the art of letter-writing and famous. He

had then fallen out of employment and was living at Awadh.* Messengers went for him and brought him and sent in word to the Begam that he had arrived. An order was sent for him to take a seat. The poor fellow waited from a watch before nightfall till a watch of night had passed, but no one asked for him or came to look for him. He could wait no longer: so he got up and went to a friend's house and retired to sleep. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali also quietly left the harem door and went to the house where his children, whom he had by a mistress, were living. He told me to lie down in his place. When it was past midnight the same eunuch, Zamurrad, came and called out: "Akhwand! open the door." I opened the door and I saw that he held in his hand several letters on white paper. He was looking for the letter-writer and saying: "Where is Akhwand gone? Tell me where he is." I replied that the letter-writer was not a servant of any one's; he had waited for two watches and had then left: and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali had gone to his house in Sabzmandí on an urgent call; and I asked him to tell me what he wanted. He said: "We want no one now: write yourself." I was something of a letter-writer myself and I set to. I saw that Khairu'nnisá's language was halting and unsuitable to the rank of the correspondents. I cancelled it all, and without a copy I wrote in another style all that the Begam wished to say, and sent in the letters. When the eunuch returned quickly, as he did, to the Begam, she thought that possibly the writer was not then present. He announced that he had got the letters written and had brought them. The Begam

*Ajudhiyá or Ayodhyá.

remarked: "He is a very rapid writer," and the eunuch told her that the person she wanted was not present, but Sheḵh Faiz Baḵsh, a brother of Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali's, one of Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán's servants, had written them thus quickly. Ḳhairu'nnisá was told to read them and say had they been written according to the draft given or was there anything more or less. She read them and told the Begam that there was not a word of the original to be found, that the whole substance had been invented and written out of my own head. The Begam grew angry and ordered them to bring me to the door. I went. Ḳhairu'nnisá abused me very soundly. I answered through the eunuch Zamurrad that these letters were addressed by a noble personage to nobles; that in such a case hard and intemperate language was unbecoming in the affairs of state. I begged that, to do me justice, the two letters should be next morning submitted to the Nawáb Begam, who was a perfect connoisseur in the art of letter-writing; and I added that, if that lady did not like my composition, I should merit displeasure. "Very well," they said. Next morning the elder lady expressed herself greatly pleased with my style and praised me. An order was given that from that day I should write the answers to all letters for the Begam. Zamurrad ceased to be the medium of communication and Dáráb 'Ali Ḳhán was told that as he was one of Jawáhir 'Ali Ḳhán's novices,* and the writer one of his servants, he should in future be the medium of instructions to be conveyed for letters. For

* I have found it hard to get a word for a eunuch's "bachgána." It implies a relation existing between one who has been in his boyhood castrated and the older man who performed the operation or caused it to be performed; that relation is spoken of as *chela* and *gurá*.

three years after this I was employed as the Begam's secretary.

Khairu'nnisá had written in reply to Ásafu'ddaulah's letter in this style: "Jawáhir 'Ali Khán has not sent "for Balbhadra: whoever says so, tells a lie. Beat him "with your shoe, and drive him out of the city." She had gone on in this fashion until she had covered a whole sheet of paper on both sides. Her answer to Haidar Beg Khán ran: "My servants are dying of hunger and "my cattle are dying. My jágir has been confiscated "and you have imprisoned my eunuchs and carried off "by force all the money I had. Where have I got any "money? Now have pity on the unhappy state of "Ásafu'ddaulah's old mother. Send something to keep "her: and release her jágirs." She had gone on at great length in this fashion. I completely changed the whole composition and wrote the following instead:—

"My dear son,—I have read your letter, and I under-

The Bahu Begam's
reply to Ásafu'ddaulah's letter.

"stand its contents. I hear that
"you are chiefly fond of reading
"historical works: so tell me once
"for all, have you ever read in any book of any fondly
"loved son, from the days of Adam to your own, who,
"having a mother to whom he owes his birth, who
"cherished and nourished him in many ways and cared
"for him after she had brought him into the world,
"spent her whole life in promoting his happiness; who
"had no other son but him, and who felt the whole en-
"joyment of her life bound up in him; who, when his
"father died leaving several sons of eminent qualifica-
"tions, and his grandmother and the army and officers
"of state were inclined to place one of those other sons

“upon the seat of government and commit to him the
“care of the country and its revenues and army,
“managed really by the help of God, although appar-
“ently by her own efforts and plans, to seat him on
“the throne—has yet, though he held vast dominions
“and had wealth so great that he could not want any-
“thing, been led by the suggestions and seductions of
“a few disloyal servants dishonourably and violently to
“wrest from his mother, without her committing any
“fault in public or private, the few mabáls of her jágir
“and her money, the gift of his father, jealously guarded
“by her as a provision to secure him from the effects of
“reverses which may overtake him; has imprisoned
“her servants and handmaids; has afterwards neglected
“the maintenance of her household; soiled his own
“good name; made her of small esteem in the eyes
“of the world; and, although claiming to be a Muslim,
“has forgotten the text of the Qurán which says: ‘Say
“‘thou not unto them [thy parents] even ‘uff’! There
“have always been instances and cases always will
“happen where fathers and sons, sons and fathers, and
“brothers and brothers, shed each other’s blood for
“the sake of empire and imprison one another: but
“tell me for yourself what answer will you give at the
“day of judgment in the world to come? Motí Singh,
“Bhawáni Singh, Nawáz Singh, and other penniless
“rustics, have squandered laks of rupees from your
“estate and they are not called to account. Is this
“all your conception of what good faith, government,
“and sagacity mean, that you now disclose by your
“conduct: that you believe the connection attributed
“to Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán with the outlawed Balbhadra,
“and write a complaint to me on the subject? He is

“neither a landholder nor a noble of these realms that
“the tenantry should at his bidding rally round Bal-
“bhadra, and that he should raise an insurrection like
“Chet Singh of Banáras. As long as he was my chief
“officer of police in those parts, all the peasantry were
“submissive to him. You have in your dominions
“many discharged collectors. Has one of them ever
“gathered round him the landholders or the tenantry
“of the district that he formerly administered, and used
“them to create a disturbance? If any one of them
“has ever done so, Jawáhir ‘Ali Khán is guilty. Do
“you not know that this outlaw is an old enemy of
“society? What trouble did his grandfather not give
“to Nawáb Burhán-u’l-mulk? His father, Pem Singh,
“and his slave, Nawal Singh, resisted Nawáb Šafdar
“Jang time after time. He himself has fought several
“times with Nawáb Shujá‘u’ddaulah, Nawáb Muham-
“mad Quli Khán, Beni Bahádur, Ghulám Husen Khán
“Karora, and Zainu’l‘ábdín Khán, and he has seven
“times had encounters with the managers of my jágirs.
“To come to the point, it is utterly unbecoming per-
“sons of great dignity and station to complain that they
“are embarrassed and paralyzed by low creatures: and
“it does not befit a ruler. To complain of one’s equals
“is of course nothing unusual. You have, thank Hea-
“ven, troops and artillery in abundance, and the English
“are also your allies. When will all these resources
“be called into service? Great nobles do not go out
“to do battle with a man who merely opposes the
“police of a mahál. A troop of horse is sufficient to
“quash and expel him. May you in future be led by
“good counsel.”

"To Haidar Beg Khán,—I have read your note,

Reply sent by the
Bahu Begam to Haidar
Beg's application.

"which contained much that was
"untrue and much that was imper-
"tinent. You know what was true
"and what was false in it. You write that you and Sar-
"farázu'ddaulah are my servants, and that this money
"is due from the eunuchs to the Company, and you
"ask me to order them to send it. The extent of your
"service has been illustrated by recent occurrences.
"When you came last to Faizábád with my son you did
"not come to pay your respects to me. This was of
"course the usual practice of slaves and the children
"of slaves, and of loyal and respectful old servants.

"As a general rule among men of the world, when
"great people fall out about business affairs, judicious
"advisers and prudent agents endeavour to smooth
"over ill-feeling and suggest to their masters all kinds
"of specious explanations to satisfy their minds. It is
"for such occasions that wise friends are kept. 'Thou
"must have a friend better than thyself.' By their
"healing and soothing language, remembering their
"obligations to their masters, they exert themselves so
"that their words take effect, and win praise and enco-
"mium, and earn a lasting good name. They become
"meritorious in the sight of God and famous in the
"eyes of men for their sagacity, intelligence, and
"loyalty. On this occasion when my beloved son, not-
"withstanding previous covenants and agreements, con-
"trary to expectation asked me for money, and I,
"knowing that he has three provinces under his rule, and
"that he expends the revenues on useless and unworthy
"objects, such as the purchase of elephants in numbers
"wholly beyond his necessities, and on shows and

" fireworks, and unjustifiable and unwarrantable pre-
 " sents, and on the elevation of worthless rustics and
 " peasants, and showing them favours and enriching
 " them with laks of rupees, and that he pays no atten-
 " tion or regard to his finances, made some little delay
 " in complying with his request, he imprisoned my serv-
 " ants who were custodians of my treasure, took what
 " was in their coffers, and went back to Lucknow.
 " In this instance, why did you not then, if you are
 " really my servant, come to my door and address
 " me properly by means of petitions or through the
 " medium of my eunuchs, or give my son good advice
 " in this matter? It is said that you are in daily
 " communication with my son about affairs at Lucknow,
 " and that, although he understands nothing about
 " public affairs, and he is naturally disinclined to meddle
 " with them, you do nothing without informing him.
 " Good God! is this your return for all my favours and
 " kindness, past and present? It is strangest of all and
 " most astonishing, that you write that the eunuchs are
 " not paying the Company's money. This sounds like
 " the prattle of a madman or an idiot, and my son must
 " be joking. Had the eunuchs farmed a mahál in
 " Bengál or 'Azímábád, or did they hold their offices
 " in trust from the Company, or have they ever in any
 " emergency borrowed from the Company and given a
 " bond, that they should now be liable to the Company
 " for money, and be now in prison for the amount?
 " You should talk sensibly. 'A hint to the wise is
 " 'sufficient.' " *

*Arabic proverb. 'Al'áqila takfihilishára.'

When I wrote these letters without a rough draft
Narrative resumed. so rapidly in a good hand, and the

Nawáb Begam approved of them, this served me as an introduction to the Bahu Begam. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán, the leading eunuchs and the Begam's responsible agents, on whose advice she depended for everything, were, as already said, rigorously confined in their house inside the fort and had no freedom. The Bahu Begam was living with her mother-in-law in the Motí Bágh. Most of the servants, domestics, and armed retainers continued to fly in despair. Some new surprise was daily in store and the Bahu Begam used to hear that such and such a servant has left to day, and so and so has done such and such a thing that was wrong. Amid all this, Dáráb 'Ali Khán, who was now entering his eighteenth year, and I, who was then thirty years of age, as we were employed as the Bahu Begam's correspondents, became her advisers. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, who was Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's general agent, was eminently endowed with the qualities of honesty, trustworthiness, governing power combined with a conciliatory manner toward the governed, loyalty to his employers, generosity, zeal and bravery, but was, on the other hand, retiring and most carefully avoided the society and presence of great nobles, such as Shujá'-u'ddaulah, or Ásafu'ddaulah, and attendance at the gates of the Begams' palaces. If ever he happened to have to appear to answer any necessary reference, as was now the case, when Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was in confinement, and the Begam used to send for him, he did not go himself, but he sent me. I was frequently in attendance at the door in my capacity of letter-writer about many private matters which it would be improper to

mention to others. I wished Dáráb 'Ali Khán, who had now passed beyond boyhood, should take part in this important business, that I might have the best means of making myself favourably known through him, and that the orders to write weighty communications, which were in many instances conveyed to me through women, might reach me through him. During this period that we were thrown together he studied under me the "Bahár Dánish," Nizám Ganjavi's "Shíru Khusro," Ghanímat's Maṣnavis, and letter-writing, and he became proficient in the art of conversation.

Eight miles from Salon there is a town called Rasúlpur, the landholders of which are Brief account of Dáráb 'Ali Khán's early life. Kurdizai Saiyads. They have divided out the land among themselves and pursue agriculture, paying the revenue of their lots to the agent of government. The owner of one of these lots was Mír Shákir 'Ali. Dáráb 'Ali Khán's ancestors were among his tenantry and held a farm of sixteen standard bíghas, or about ten acres. They found it difficult to pay their rent. Dáráb 'Ali Khán was born a eunuch and lived with his parents till he was six years old.

In the village of Duna, which lies between Kákori and Mohán, there was a boy four years of age, son of a zamíndár, sleeping in the courtyard of the house, and a wolf came and tried to carry off the boy in the night. The boy's father woke up and uttered a scream. The wolf was unable to carry off the boy, and satisfied himself with biting off his generative organs. The boy lived by God's grace, though he lost much blood. When he recovered, his father presented him as a eunuch to

Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah, who made him a gift of the village as a revenue-free holding in return. The story of this spread all over the Nawáb's dominions.

Daráb 'Ali Khán's uncle, Ghási Rám, who is still alive,* brought him to Faizábád in the hope of getting the freehold of his ten acres. The Nawáb had left Faizábád two or three days before his arrival and marched in the direction of Lucknow to meet Nawáb Sholápurí Begam, wife of Nawáb Qamru'ddín Khán, Muhammad Sháh's Wazír. A Hindú noble, named Prasád Singh, who bore the title of Rája, who was detained on some important business in his cantonment near the Allahábád turnpike outside the city, was sitting on an English chair in the open air, when Ghási Rám came in sight with the boy in his arms. Prasád Singh asked him what he wanted. He said: "I am bringing my child to present him in the hope of getting a freehold of ten acres." Prasád Singh said: "I cannot confer a freehold, but I will procure you any price you ask," and after some bargaining he offered five hundred rupees. Ghási Rám would not take the money, but Prasád Singh was a cruel and hard man, and he snatched the boy from him and drove him away. Ghási Rám returned home in tears and in despair. Prasád Singh took the lad to Lucknow and presented him to the Nawáb, who handed him over to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali was charged with the boy's education, and he employed a school-master of Malíhábád, named Chhedá, to teach him. This occurred in Jamádi, usṣáni 1183 A.H. [1769 A.D.], and Daráb 'Ali Khán was then entering his seventh year.

*1233 A.H. [1817 A.D.]

After Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah's death in 1188 A.H. [1774 A.D.], the glory of the eunuchs began to decline. Asafu'ddaulah went to reside at Lucknow. Those eunuchs who were his personal servants, such as 'Ambar 'Ali Khān, superintendent of the elephant stables, the wardrobe, cookroom, and library, and of the wharf dues and other departments, and other eunuchs holding appointments like him, went to Lucknow. Those who held appointments from Shujá'u'ddaulah on the Begam's establishment, such as Jawáhir 'Ali Khān, her steward, Bahár 'Ali Khān, her treasurer, and Nishát 'Ali Khān, who had their duties in various ways connected with the collection of her income, remained behind at Faizábád, they and their novices, with the Begam.

At this time Núr 'Ali Sháh, a Saiyad, the father of Mír Najaf 'Ali Fázil, who is now the foremost man of his day, as far as manners go, in Faizábád, was entertained as tutor to Dáráb 'Ali Khān, Mírza Hasan 'Ali, and Husen 'Ali, novices. As the Saiyad was an old and feeble man, he was able to do little for the boys. They spent most of their time playing. One day Dáráb 'Ali Khān was fighting with Mírza Hasan 'Ali, and he threw a stone at him and missed him, but the stone struck the foot of Mír Kallú of Rái Bareli, a friend of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's, who was sitting in the garden between Jawáhir 'Ali Khān's house and Bahár 'Ali Khān's house. I was then coming with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali from 'Ambar 'Ali Khān's house, in which were the revenue offices, to Jawáhir 'Ali Khān's house. Mír Kallú told Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali what had happened. Dáráb 'Ali Khān, who was a small boy, had run into the school-room and sat down. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali reprimanded Núr 'Ali Sháh, the

school-master, and subsequently complained to Jawáhir 'Áli Khán of the boy's idleness and inability to read and write. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who seldom grew angry, but as the proverb says: "God save us from the wrath of the good tempered," was all the more severe when he did become irate, beat Dáráb 'Ali soundly with his own hand, and from that day he was placed under my care. As I had multifarious duties and I had little time to spare, I was only able to give him a few days at first and teach him some pages of the Gulistán. I then, with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's sanction, employed Hájí Núr Muhammad of Delhi, on five rupees a month, to teach him. He remained three years under my care, and that was up to the time when the eunuchs were imprisoned and the jágírs confiscated. He then used to spend day and night inside the Motí Bágh palace, while I remained outside. One night Bashárat, one of the Bahu Begam's eunuchs, had a conversation with Nílám, one of the Nawáb Begam's eunuchs, which disturbed the ladies, and the Bahu Begam ordered that none of her eunuchs should spend the night inside the Motí Bágh. Thereafter, when the first watch of the night had passed, Dáráb 'Ali Khán used to come and lie down to sleep near me. We spent our nights together there for six months, and I did all that I could to further his studies and instruct him.

When six months had passed as already described, and there was no effort made by either party to settle affairs, the Nawáb Wazír confiscated the Nawáb Begam's jágírs also. This lady wrote a letter to Mírza Najaf Khán, who had risen to great distinction

History of Jawáhir
'Ali Khán and Bahár
'Ali Khán resumed.

at Sháhjahánábád and was Amíru'lumara. He died at this very time and the Begam was left without resource. I went most nights to pious recluses and fortune-tellers, geomancers and astrologers, and they used to tell me lies for their own profit, and promised dates close at hand to which they pointed for our relief, and when these dates came there was nothing happened. Some of these facts were narrated to the Begam also, and when they ended in nothing she grew angry.

When six months and some days had elapsed and the rainy reason set in, Captain Jaques was removed from the guard and Major Gilpin succeeded him. Mírza Bakhsullah, his agent, was appointed a medium of communication between him and the Begam, but the officer was himself an exceedingly courteous, sedate, wise and intelligent man. In the month of Rajab in the same year an order came from Lucknow that the eunuchs should be sent there; that, as they would not pay up the balance at Faizábád, they would be made to pay at Lucknow. This announcement crushed us completely, for although the jágírs had been confiscated, our master had been imprisoned, and profits there were none, still we had been able to remain in our accustomed haunts and we had no physical discomforts, and several of those thrown out of employ being in the one place were able to cheer each other. As the proverb says: "It is pleasanter to die in company." *

The best thing in the whole occurrence is what happened when Ásafu'ddaulah, after he had taken the money from the eunuchs, felt oppressed with a sense of

* The original is: "Marg-i-amboh jashni dárád," lit., "The death of a crowd has the effect of a feast."

his misconduct. His Hindú orderlies, who were mean spirits, said to him that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán had laks upon laks of rupees, that their houses were filled with their accumulations, and, if an order were given for confiscation, ten or twenty laks more would be got out of them: and their noble-minded master said to them in reply: "I asked my mother "for the money: she delayed: I was hard up: her "money was in their keeping: circumstances required "that I should take my mother's savings from them: "what son is there in all the world who does not take "from his father and mother: he takes all he can get "from them: what have I to do with the property of "slaves? If I were inclined to deal with the lower class, "I should strip you of everything and then I should "get krors upon krors of rupees." Those who had ventured to address him were ashamed.

As not a penny of the eunuchs' property had been expended, we had some consolation. Even during their imprisonment Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had twelve elephants, thirty horses, and one hundred servants, and Bahár 'Ali Khán had a like establishment. The only difference was that the sepoy were scattered, and some ten or twenty friends were deprived of their monthly salaries, and received only their evening meals. Now that they were taking the eunuchs to Lucknow in the rainy season, God knew where they would keep them, or where or how we were to find shelter; where were we few who were still left together to be scattered? A second and greater cause of apprehension was this, that as Haidar Beg Khán entertained a deadly grudge against them, he might inflict upon them still greater severities, or might send them prisoners to the Allahábád

or Chunár fort. Anyhow, on the 8th Rajab 1196 A.H. [1782 A.D.] they were sent to Lucknow under a guard of some companies of regulars with an English officer in command. They encamped at Mumtáznagar, which is four miles out of the city. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and I, two of their employés, Mírza Shekhá and Mír Kallú Fázil, two of their friends, and Ághá Muhammad Hasan Kashmíri, one of their chief officers of police, accompanied them in the most ignominious fashion, riding on a bullock-cart, a kind of conveyance in which we had never before sat, and we halted in the sarái. When a watch of night had passed, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán sent for me, and he dictated a letter to the Nawáb Begam and one to Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, her eunuch, and despatched them then and there. He sent a slip to Dáráb 'Ali Khán asking him to deliver the letters. The pith of the letter to the Begam was this: "They are taking us slaves to Lucknow. God knows what bodily and mental tortures may be inflicted on us there: and we cannot under such circumstances depend upon ourselves. God knows what words may not escape our lips to save our lives. Try somehow or other to save us from going to Lucknow." The hint which he conveyed was that they had given up whatever they had, and that whatever the Bahu Begam had concealed inside the palace they would be driven to disclose when they were at point of death, and all would be lost: whereas, if she gave something and procured their return, the larger part of her treasure would be saved. The letter to Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán was also to the same effect. Next morning the Nawáb Begam read the letter. She sent for the Bahu Begam and explained the contents to her, told her that dangers attended

the departure of the eunuchs for Lucknow, and that some measures must be taken to secure their return. The Bahu Begam said: "I will give a lak of rupees if they come back, provided that you say you are giving the money temporarily as a loan: write an answer to this effect and send it. Let the eunuchs hand it to the English officer, so that he may return with them." This answer which the Begam sent arrived that day, after the prisoners had been marched on and halted at Muhammadpur. Jawábir 'Ali Khán and I were alone together when it arrived. On thinking the matter over, we reflected that, if a lak of rupees were offered so readily to the English officer, the Lucknow authorities and the officers at Faizábád would imagine that the Bahu Begam or the eunuchs themselves had no end of money, when they tendered a lak of rupees over the small inconvenience attending a march to Muhammadpur, and that, if they were submitted to a little more inconvenience and were a little more severely handled, six and a half laks of rupees would be sure to be paid up. We concluded that, as they had now left Faizábád, they might as well go on to Lucknow, whether they liked it or not, and that things would come to a crisis there at last after some trouble: they would then send from Lucknow for this lak of rupees and pay it over: so they had better carefully preserve the Nawáb Begam's note and the sealed letter sent by Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán as a reserve for that contingency. Bahár 'Ali Khán concurred in this opinion. From Muhammadpur the eunuchs went on in advance of us to Lucknow and the English officer lodged the prisoners in the cantonments in his bungalow, which was surrounded by a high wall. When we arrived afterwards on our

bullock-cart, we could not discover that day where he had placed them. We put up for that night in Qá'im Khán Fílbán's Sarái on the other side of the Gumti. Next morning the dismissed collectors and police magistrates, whom Haidar Beg Khán had summoned to Lucknow for inquiry into the profits of the jágírs, came and formed a crowd round us. It was therefore agreed on among us that we had better leave this place and go on into Lucknow to lodge. Although this was not advisable, because we had not yet procured a place in the city which would accommodate fifty people, we loaded our baggage on our servants and set out, from ten to twenty of us, for the city. Every friend we went to hid from us. Mahdi 'Ali Khán, son of Mírza Kázim, who used often to come to Faizábád, and whom Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali Khán used to receive with great hospitality, and there was a strong friendship and an utter absence of ceremony between them, did not as much as come to his door to receive us when we were standing outside his residence, although he had ample accommodation and numerous houses to spare. Wherever we turned to a friend depending upon his friendship, he avoided us. Finding 'Ábid 'Ali Khán Mughal's house empty we entered it boldly, without asking his permission, deposited our bundles and took up our quarters there. After we had entered he demanded eight rupees rent and we agreed to pay it. I used to go alone every day to see the prisoners and give them the city news and inquire after them. I then used to despatch an account of the condition of the eunuchs and other news, such as the health or illness of Nawáb Sálár Jang, for the Begam was very particular and frequent in her inquiries as to her brother's health,

to Faizábád, and Dáráb 'Ali Khán used to read my letters to the Bahu Begam. This gave her some comfort, and she used to look out for my letters until they came to Dáráb 'Ali Khán's hands. Thus about two months more went by.

One day Haidar Beg Khán unexpectedly paid a visit to Mr. Middleton, whose house was quite close to the place where the eunuchs were imprisoned, and urged the Resident to resort to some harsher measures with the prisoners. Díwán Hulás Rái came with two warders and instruments of torture and was introduced to the prisoners' presence. He first seized Bahár 'Ali Khán by the hand and lifted him up. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán rose of himself and stood in the verandah of the bungalow. Bahár 'Ali Khán jumped from the spot where he was, hit the warder on the head with his fist, and put the rope which was hanging from a rafter of the verandah round his neck and pulled it tight, hoping to strangle himself, and, as Sa'di says that

The man prepared with life to part
Will speak the feelings of his heart,

he abused everybody. Not one official escaped the lashings of his tongue. The Díwán, when he saw this, pulled him by the hand and prevented his suicide, for his intention had been only to intimidate the prisoners, and he induced him by gentle persuasion to sit down. A very different story was circulated in Lucknow. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and the rest of us, when we heard of this distressing occurrence, went into a small dark room, threw our arms on one another's necks and wept. I went that evening as usual to see the victims of oppression.

There was another story circulated that day: that Beni Babádur, the old minister of the súbah, whose eyes Shujá'u'ddaulah had put out, had advised Haidar Beg Khán to treat the eunuchs as Shujá'u'ddaulah had treated him. Some people gave out that it had been determined to send them to Chunár. All their servants were now so alarmed that they prepared to desert them. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali said to me: "Others may go or not, but I shall go to Chunár and be imprisoned with them."

When I was admitted to see the prisoners that evening, Bahár 'Ali Khán addressed me and said: "Go to Bijnaur and deliver a message for me to 'Ilmu'l-hudá. Tell him I have been once on a time a friend of his. He knows the kindness and attention which his disciple Sháh Badr 'Álam used to bestow on me. Now that I am involved in these afflictions, ask him to pray God for me that I may be released from these troubles." I went accordingly to Bijnaur. I did not see that learned and pious man, but I delivered the message to his younger brother, Sháh Habíbullah, who was in some respects better even than his brother. This venerable man, who was as good at heart as he was in exterior, wrote four amulets and gave them to me, and told me to give them to the eunuchs, who were each to place one under the lobe of his right ear and each hold one in his hand and keep looking at it; that, please God, these amulets would have effect within three days or within eight days. I returned to Lucknow and delivered the charms. It turned out as had been prophesied. Three days afterwards they had left Lucknow and were lodging in the Sarái Shekh, which is known as Thákurdwára. One fetter was removed

from their feet, and on the seventh day, the day they reached Faizábád, the second fetter was struck off and they were presented to the Bahu Begam.

When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán left for Lucknow, there was a Company's regiment consisting of a thousand men and three guns stationed on duty within the fort and there were several English officers with them. One of the latter was posted with a company and one gun at the Nawáb Begam's gate. He placed the gun loaded with shot at the gate, pointing direct at the inner gate which led into the ladies' quarters. He kept the fuse constantly alight and his men stationed round the Motí Bágh, and he said: "I have nothing against the Nawáb Begam and her people, but the Bahu Begam is in the house with her, and I am come to harry her and to cut off the supplies from her and her servants. If the Nawáb Begam's servants interfere with me in this, I shall certainly fight with them." As this was too bold, when matters went so far, the Nawáb Begam's eunuchs and sepoys took their lives in their hands, turned out to fight, and prepared for bloodshed. Hemráj, Mahram 'Ali Khán Názir's accountant, sent out to the villages as fast as he could and called in at once a thousands Rájputs with swords to join him, and three hundred old Mewáti servants stationed themselves under arms as a guard to protect the ladies' quarters. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán stood at the gun and began to fight with the officer in command. They fought with their fists and wrestled. The townspeople, when they saw what was going on, became excited and feeling ran high, and every male, from the sire of ninety to the boy of four

years, crowded up to the scene. The officer was discreet and, when he saw this display, retired at once, and all ended well. The news of the event reached Lucknow the same day and grave anxiety prevailed among us who were there, but patience and endurance were all our resource. "The poor man carries his own sorrows."*

Major Gilpin, who was a wise, foreseeing man, and was in charge of affairs at Faizábád, thought of a good plan to settle the difficulty, and came at once to the Bahu Begam's door and sent in a polite message to say that the Begam was mistress of every one there and that he was one of her servants and ready to obey any order she gave : that she had been living in the Nawáb Begam's house for nine months, and the servants of the two ladies had suffered because of the limited accommodation it afforded to their joint numbers, and so he hoped that the Bahu Begam would return to her own residence within the fort, and he would escort her and render her every service and assistance she required. He persisted until he induced the Bahu Begam to come out in her palankeen, and he escorted her himself into the fort and settled her in the Motí Mahal. He came to her door every day and paid his respects to her as if he were one of her servants and made her quite a friend. After some days had elapsed he sent her a message, saying that six laks and fifty thousand rupees were not so very much that they should stand between her and her son and cause so much negotiation, and that her eunuchs, who were men of position and her

* Proverb in original is : "Gham-i-darwesh bar ján-i-darwesh," lit., "The sorrow of the darwesh is upon the soul of the darwesh."

trusted agents, should remain in prison and suffer all kinds of annoyances: that it seemed to him as her friend the easiest and best plan for her to pursue, to put together four laks of rupees as best she could and that he would himself give her one lak; and she could give a bond for the remaining lak and fifty thousand; that her managers would pay it up in the year that she regained the maháls which constituted her jágír. He added that he was prepared to guarantee the simultaneous release of the eunuchs and the restoration of her jágír. He gained his point by this plausible speech. The Bahu Begam said to him: "I cannot produce the cash, but I certainly have four or five laks of moveable property and I can give that, but that depends upon one thing. My eunuchs are custodians of all such property of mine. When they come from Lucknow and their fetters are removed, they will make delivery." The Major wrote to Lucknow to Mr. Middleton and Haidar Beg Khán in these terms: "You have intimidated the eunuchs beyond measure and they have not admitted a penny, but I have brought the Begam round by tricks and wiles to consent to give property instead of cash. You must count whatever you can get now a lucky windfall and be satisfied. You had better send the eunuchs here as soon as you get this letter." The day that this letter reached Lucknow was the day after that when I had brought the four slips of paper from the darwesh.

The eunuchs were sitting in despair, awaiting some interposition of divine providence, when an Englishman entered and said: "Well, sirs, you are to-morrow to leave for Faizábád. Get ready for the journey and you can go." Next day they left Lucknow and

arrived on the seventh day at Faizábád. They first went into Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house. Their fetters were struck off and they were allowed to go in to see the Begam; but there was a guard of Company's regulars with them, and the regiment was posted as before. When they entered the Begam's presence after an absence of more than eight months, they could not contain themselves and gave way to tears. For a long time they did not lift their heads from the ground. It was the beginning of the month of Ramzán. Two days after their return, the order was given that the treasure-rooms which had been closed since the days of Shujá'u'ddaulah should be opened and the stuffs of the East, which were part of the confiscated property of Qásim 'Ali Khán, should be brought out, a bundle a day, and laid out in the bárahdari which overlooked the river. A bundle was brought out each day for a week. On the eighth day one of them was opened. Webs of white muslin were found in it. They were valued and shut up again. Next day another was opened, examined, and again tied up. It took from morning till late in the afternoon to open and examine a bundle. To be brief, the value of the webs of one bundle alone was estimated at eighty-four thousand rupees. The whole came to more than three laks and fifty thousand rupees. When the valuation had been completed and the prices been determined, Major Gilpin asked for a lak of rupees in cash. At this moment the Bahu Begam said she was of opinion that she had paid enough from her own treasury, and that the eunuchs had not paid a penny out of their savings: that they should now pay this money themselves. The eunuchs understood this hint and began to cast about for the money,

but they could do nothing owing to the guard of Company's troops. They too had a motive for concealment. They told me to go Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán and bring the lak of rupees which the Nawáb Begam had promised them when they were on their way to Lucknow: and tell him that the jágírs would soon be restored and, please God, they would repay the money; that they had it in fact then, but they could not produce it. I asked them to send Dáráb 'Ali Khán with me. When I arrived at Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's house, he pretended not to understand me and said: "The Bahu Begam herself offered this sum only if the eunuchs could be saved from going to Lucknow. They have gone and come back. It is not possible for them to get the money now." He added: "Bring the Bahu Begam to the Nawáb Begam and let her ask her herself for the money. It is possible she may then get the money." When I returned with this answer to the eunuchs, they were quite dismayed; they told me to go again and say that this had nothing to do with the Bahu Begam: they would repay it themselves. To come to the point, I went backwards and forwards in this way thirteen times in the month of Ramzán, in the heat of the sun at midday, between the Bahu Begam's gate and the Nawáb Begam's house, a distance of half a mile, and returned each time walking with fifteen thousand kúṇḍah and rikábi* rupees laden in my palan-keen, and conveyed the money into Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house. The news spread to Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's

* Two kinds of rupees then current in Oudh, so called from the designs on them. Kúṇḍah is a large shallow dish used as a feeding trough, and rikábi is a plate. Compare the use of Jhár Sháhi, Katar Sháhi, &c., names of particular coins, from their devices, tree, dagger, &c.

house that some one had brought a lak of rupees from Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's house. The reduced collectors and officers of police who were waiting in expectation concluded that the maháls of the jágír were about to be released immediately, and that they would be reinstated in their offices at once. When I came home at the hour of breaking fast* I was greeted with cheers and cries of: "It is you who have done it and it takes men to do the like."

When the Bahu Begam heard the money had come, she repaid the lak of rupees to the Nawáb Begam, whose note had been given through the eunuchs, and the eunuchs themselves paid up fifty thousand. When the property and the fifty thousand rupees were handed over, Major Gilpin wrote binding himself by God and Christ that he was going with the property to Lucknow, and that the moment he arrived he would manage to release the eunuchs and restore the jágírs simultaneously. He took all with him to Lucknow and neither event ensued. The guards continued all the same at the eunuchs' doors and the Begam's gate and in the whole fort. The whole thing was a trick and a fraud. Hope was not realized and expectation was balked.

In this hope the month of Zíhijh passed, Muharram began, and a whole year had elapsed in this state of distress. What Mr. Brown and Mr. Head had said now began to show signs of proving true. Mr. Middleton was removed from the Lucknow Residency and Mr. John Bristow, who was appointed in his place,

*The hour after sunset when Musalmáns are allowed to break their fast in Ramzáu.

arrived in Lucknow. The first question he put to Haidar Beg Khán was, by whose order he had taken the Bahu Begam's money without her consent, imprisoned her eunuchs and confiscated her jágírs, and on what pretence a Company's regiment was posted in the fort at Faizábád. He gave orders that the regiment should at once return. This alarmed Haidar Beg Khán, and he asked Asafu'ddaulah to hurry and send some one to Faizábád to the Bahu Begam before the Resident's order could arrive there, to tell her that he had after much entreaty induced the English to withdraw their regiment. The Nawáb Wazír sent Afrín 'Ali Khán on this mission. He arrived at the moment that the regiment was leaving.

When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was released and the fort emptied of the military, he told me to send secretly for Barjor Singh, one of the regulars and an old servant of the Begam's, and quietly entertain two or three men at a time, and place guards of regulars at the Begam's gate. I did so: and five or six old friends of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who had stuck to him, were re-employed at half their former pay.

At this time Mr. Hastings was censured by the Directors in London for some faults, and among them were the late events in Oudh. Mr. Hastings wrote from Calcutta to Lucknow saying the Bahu Begam must be conciliated and humoured and induced to forgive the past. We thought this would be quite impossible. Haidar Beg Khán said to Asafu'ddaulah that this fact must not be disclosed to the Bahu Begam or her advisers: that he must first win her over to himself by some means. A letter came in the month of Ramzán from

the Nawáb Wazír to the Begam in the middle of her despair, saying that Wazír 'Ali Khán was his legitimate son and he wished to be introduced to her, so that she might acknowledge him as her grandson and receive him face to face,* and thus enhance his honour and position. The Bahu Begam wrote in reply that her house was his and there was no need for him to ask permission to come. When this answer came the Nawáb Wazír used various forms of flattery, went to Faizábád, stayed there two or three days, and when leaving told the Bahu Begam that he had used efforts to induce the Company to release the jágírs and had succeeded, and he asked her to send Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and Bahár 'Ali Khán with him, saying that, please God, he would send them back soon with the release of the jágírs effected. He thus took the two eunuchs with him and returned to Lucknow in the rains, at the end of Ramzán 1197 A.H. [1783 A.D.]. He allotted them as a residence the house of Mahram 'Ali Khán, which is behind Sháh Pír Muhammad's takiya,† and opposite the door of the old Panj-Mahla. They remained there for a whole year, and he kept putting them off from day to day with excuses and subterfuges. This trickery was all Haidar Beg's. He did not at all wish that the jágírs should be restored to the Bahu Begam. In the meantime there was a report that Governor Hastings was coming to Lucknow. Nawáb Ásafu'd-daulah and all his ministers went to Allahábád to meet him, and carried the two eunuchs with them. They returned after a month and various events occurred: the arrival of Mírza Jawán Bakht from Sháhjahánábád,

* I.e., within the pardah.

† Takiya is a faqír's (religious mendicant's) residence.

the request of aid from the Marhatas, the summoning of their agent from the Dakhin, the negotiation that followed and its interruption, and the adoption of other counsels. That is a long story and my subject is the history of Faizábád, so I omit it and keep to the point.

When Governor Hastings reached Lucknow, the Bahu Begam, Nawáb Begam, and Nawáb Sálár Jang pressed for the release of the jágírs, and the Governor sent the Bahu Begam a letter intimating his arrival. The Nawáb Wazír himself went to Faizábád with an order for the restoration of the jágírs. He handed it to the Bahu Begam on his arrival and she refused to take it. The reason of this was as follows:—Salon, &c., in all eight maháls, in the south were in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's circle, and Qasba Tándah in the east and Nawábganj on the other side of the river on the north were in Bahár 'Ali Khán's circle, and Isma'ílganj on the west near Lucknow in Shikwat 'Ali Khán's circle: and the *Galla Dágh* throughout the whole súbah was Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's. Notwithstanding the Governor's peremptory orders, Haídar Beg Khán perpetrated a trick. He kept back Tándah and Nawábganj and four maháls of the Já'is circle, Simrauta, Mohanganj, Korá, and Já'is Khássh, six maháls in all; and contented himself with inserting in the order for release only Salon Khássh and its three contiguous maháls, Rokhá, Parsadhipur, and Athiya. The order issued to Taqí Beg Khán, the agent in charge there, was to the effect that "the Salon, &c., mahál" of the jágír had been given as before to the Nawáb Wazír's mother. The Bahu Begam perceived that Tándah and Nawábganj were not entered, though she thought that all the maháls of the south had been

included, and she refused to accept the paper. Bahár 'Ali Khán advised her not to accept the order. The Nawáb Wazír did not come for two days to see his mother. When Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and the rest of us reached Faizábád four days after the Nawáb Wazír's arrival, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán told Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali what had happened, and the latter advised him to be satisfied with even so much, saying that all the long time the jágírs had been attached he had been able to do nothing, and he could invite Bahár 'Ali Khán to a share in these maháls; and that when Tándah and Nawábganj were restored, he could take his old maháls and Bahár 'Ali Khán his. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said he was too ashamed to say this, and asked Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali to go and speak for him. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali went and talked in the same strain to Bahár 'Ali Khán. The latter unwillingly yielded and spoke to the Bahu Begam, asking her to accept what was now offered and extract a promise of the other maháls. The Begam sent Dáráb 'Ali Khán to bring the Nawáb Wazír, and she said to her son: "As you bring me the order yourself, I accept it, on the condition that you promise to give all the "remaining maháls." He promised her this on oath, handed her the document, and left for Lucknow.

When the document reached Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's hands, he showed it to Mírza Burhán 'Ali, who was a sharp man, and he said when he examined it: "I have my doubts even as to the maháls of the south, because the words used in this order are 'the Salon, &c., mahál' of the jágír: the plural 'maháls' is not used. There are three maháls there: mahál Salon, which includes Mírganj and other villages; mahál Naśrábád, with which go Rokhá, Parsadhipur, and Athiya; mahál

"Já, is, which includes Mohanganj, Simrauta, and Korá. "In this instance the word 'mahál' only is used." All of us, when we heard this, were involved in doubt. I suggested that Haidar Beg Khán must have written details to his representative on the spot, Taqí Beg Khán: if he removed his collectors from all the maháls, we had gained all we wanted, and if not, what Mirza Burhán 'Ali said must be correct.

Next day Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali and his subordinates went out to the maháls. The villagers came out armed to meet him and brought him into Já, is, where he lodged. He sent Ághá Muhammad Šádiq, a Kashmíri, one of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's servants, to Taqí Beg Khán, who was staying in Salon. The latter had heard in a general way that the Begam's jágír had been restored, but Haidar Beg Khán's letter had not yet reached him. Like a loyal man he removed his collectors from all the eight maháls the moment he saw the order with Ághá Muhammad Šádiq. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali posted his own son, Kázim 'Ali, to Salon Kháss, and appointed other persons as his agents in some maháls. He left some places vacant until Haidar Beg Khán's instructions reached Taqí Beg Khán, telling him to confine his agents to half the estate. Thus what Burhán 'Ali Beg had suspected proved to be correct. When the report of these proceedings reached London through the despatches of the Calcutta Council, an order was sent to the Governor to satisfy the Bahu Begam's demands. He wrote to Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah, and he adopted a device, which Haidar Beg Khán suggested to him, and came to Faizábád. Here he feigned the utmost submissiveness, told the Begams that his daughter was about to be married to Shaukat Jang, Ahmad 'Ali Khán's son,

and he begged them to come to Lucknow and grace his house with their presence. They accepted his invitation, and he sent them each ten elephants, ten piebald Tánghan ponies, and ten bullock coaches for their maids and slaves, and fifty thousand rupees each for their servants on the road; he pitched gorgeous tents at every stage on the road into Lucknow and provided a variety of cooked provisions at each place, walked himself a part of each stage with them, and brought them into Lucknow with every mark of attention. He vacated the Panj-Mahla for his mother, and a fine mansion, known as the Haveli Báoli, for his grandmother, and he occupied his palace himself. He also prepared and furnished with carpets and other furniture houses for the ladies' servants and followers near their mistresses. He then proclaimed throughout the city: "Ásafu'ddaulah is the vicegerent of his mother and grandmother; of these dominions and cities small and great they are rulers; the subjects in this city are their subjects; if their servants commit any oppression or cruelty, no one can expect any redress from me." This went on until the marriage festivities began. I pass over them.

As the death of Bahár 'Alí Khán, which now took Bahár 'Alí Khán's place, was the result of an occurrence which happened on the journey to Lucknow, I should have mentioned it in that connection, but I insert an account of it here. Before the Bahu Begam set out for Lucknow, Sídi Sikandar, one of the old retainers of this family, who was a great proficient in astrology, when speaking to me of the proposed visit to Lucknow, said: "All will derive great advantage from this journey to Lucknow, and

"will return in safety to Faizábád with glad hearts and gratified wishes—all except Bahár 'Ali Khán, to whom such and such a star portends evil. It will be much better for him if he does not undertake the journey." I mentioned this to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, but he said nothing. Bahár 'Ali Khán, although he also heard this, had no help for it but to go. When he was on the second march, which was that to Shujá-ganj, his horse became restive while he was riding. He struck him several times with his whip, and the animal became more violent. He began to buck and was beyond the control of his rider. Bahár 'Ali Khán was thrown forward with the pit of his stomach on the pommel of the saddle. He sustained a severe injury, but as he was a resolute and determined man, he kept his seat. The injured part swelled up in Lucknow and retention of urine followed. The physicians of Lucknow and Faizábád did their utmost for him, but without result. He passed away on the fifteenth day after his arrival at Lucknow. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán made all the arrangements for his interment, and sent Mír Nigár 'Ali, who was generally believed to be Bahár 'Ali Khán's brother, and Mirza Dá'im Beg and others of his trusted friends, with his corpse, and they conveyed it to Faizábád to commit him to earth in the garden which he had himself laid out for his burial-place. The Mír brought the body into the fort through the east gate, known in Faizábád as the Dehli Darwáza, and laid it down at the door of the deceased's residence. He then went into the house alone and opened a chamber. What he meant by this no one knows. He then lifted the corpse, took it to the appointed place and buried it. Haidar Beg Khán heard of this. He went next

morning to the Bahu Begam and sent in a message through Jawáhir 'Alí Khán to her, informing her of what had happened. The Begam was highly incensed at this act of levity. When the Mír returned to Lucknow after the funeral ceremonies and discovered the Begam's displeasure, he was utterly at a loss how to recover the favour he had lost.

It happened that Sheikh Zainu'l'ábdín, one of my relatives, a resident of Kákori, was going with Sháh Kázim to Damgarh to enrol himself as a disciple of Sháh Básiṭ 'Alí Qalandar. Mír Niṣár had in his boyhood been much with Sháh Básiṭ 'Alí, because he was a near relative of his; and there was a close friendship between Niṣár 'Alí and Zainu'l'ábdín. The latter came to see me the day he arrived in Lucknow. Mír Niṣár 'Alí saw him in the distance and sent for him, was delighted to see him, reminded him of the claims of old acquaintance, and pressed him to say to me that, as I had great influence with Jawáhir 'Alí Khán, he begged me for the sake of Bahár 'Alí Khán's many kindnesses to move the Begam through Jawáhir 'Alí Khán to forgive him for having opened the closet, and he would be under a lifelong obligation to me. Bahár 'Alí Khán had some days before his death advised Mír Niṣár 'Alí and said to him: "Return to your native place when I die and do not think of remaining in Faizábád, for your temper is hasty, and you will not be able to get on with the eunuchs of this darbár." The Bahu Begam too had spoken in terms of displeasure to him, saying: "Bahár was my servant, and he did everything for me with his heart and soul as it should be done. He is now dead. What do I want with another, even though he be his brother?" Niṣár

'Ali was thus quite hopeless of any restoration to favour. Out of regard for Zainu'l'ábdín and in remembrance of Bahár 'Ali Khán's kindness to me, I went to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán and interceded and pleaded until I gained my point with him, and he said: "The sepoy, both irregulars and regulars, and the cook-house and other establishments, all that Bahár 'Ali Khán had or held, I grant to Nişár 'Ali: besides this he will get two hundred rupees a month from the Begam." When the Mír heard this joyful news he revived. The best of it was that I had placed Shekh Zainu'l'ábdín in a place where he heard my pleadings and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's reply.

There is a sarkár in the Allahábád súbah called Handiya, and in it a village called Damgarh, where reside some Nai-shápúri Saiyads of pure descent. A gentleman of this stock, who was named Bakhsht 'Álam, had a sister who was without a son. She bought a Brahman boy from his father and mother in a year of famine and brought him up as her son. When the boy was fourteen years old, Nawáb Abu'lmanşúr Khán Şafdar Jang's army marched by that village and the lad came out of the house to see the sight. The castrators lifted him, carried him off, castrated him and sold him to the Nawáb, who made him over to Shujá'u'ddaulah. The latter entrusted him for education and board to Khush-nazar 'Ali Khán, who was a very old eunuch. The Saiyad lady, who could not find him again, though she searched hard for him, lost heart and died of grief.

When Shujá'u'ddaulah after his defeat at Baksar recovered possession of the súbah of Oudh, Bahár 'Ali Khán

rose to a high position and he mixed with learned and good men and became impressed with a sense of honour. He wished that his rightful owner, the Saiyad lady, should somehow or other emancipate him. He had given himself out as a Saiyad and he was reputed to be one. When Shujá'u'ddaulah returned to Faizábád after his defeat of Háfiz Rahmat Khán and the settlement of the new territory he had acquired, Bahár 'Alí Khán wrote a letter to Saiyad Bakhsh 'Álam and told the story of his adventures. As the Saiyad's sister had died, he was now by right Bahár 'Alí Khán's master, and when the latter discovered what had become of him, he came to Faizábád and put up at Bakhshí Rif'atullah Khán's house, because he was an old acquaintance. As Bahár 'Alí Khán feared it might be discovered that he was not a Saiyad, he did not invite Bakhsh 'Álam to meet him, but he showed him every other attention. He sent him two hundred rupees through a confidential friend and obtained a deed of emancipation, sending a message that the Nawáb was ill, and he would send for him when he was at leisure after the Nawáb's recovery. About this time Shujá'u'ddaulah died. Bahár 'Alí Khán then sent for Bakhsh 'Álam as he had promised, but, as luck would have it, he also had died. He left, however, a son, Mír Nişár 'Alí, whom he had just seen married. Bahár 'Alí Khán sent for the son as he could not see the father, and gave out that he was his brother. Mír Nişár 'Alí never went again to his home. This is the true account of Bahár 'Alí Khán.

After the arrival of the Begams in Lucknow the

History of Faizábád arrangements for the marriage of
resumed. Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah's daughter

with the son of Nawáb Ahmad 'Ali Khán Shaukat Jang, son of Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán, began. Almás 'Ali Khán acted for the bridegroom and Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán for the bride, until the whole ceremony was completed, and the Bahu Begam prepared to return to Faizábád. The Nawáb Begam agreed that the daughter of Hasan 'Ali Khán, who had been married to BÍbí 'Ashúran, should be joined in marriage to Mírza Naşır, son of Mírza Muhammad Amín, son of Mírza Yúsuf the Blind, Burhánu'l-mulk's sister's son : and the Bahu Begam arranged the marriage of BÍbí Luţfu'nnisá with Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán, Mírza Naşır's brother. Two or three days before the Bahu Begam left, Haidar Beg Khán came to the lady's door and sent in to her a supplementary deed restoring the remaining four maháls of her jágír near Salon, south of Faizábád. On this occasion too he played a trick. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was then paying a permanently settled rent of three laks and seventy-five thousand rupees in accordance with his agreement entered into with the Bahu Begam, and Bahár 'Ali Khán one lak and fifty thousand. The total was five laks and twenty-five thousand. Haidar Beg Khán said to the Begam that all she wanted was this much money, and he entered it in the deed as the gross rental of the southern maháls, without allowing anything for the expense of revenue police, police officers, and collectors, and sent in the paper. He included, however, in the rental of the southern maháls the rentals of qaşba Tándah and of Nawábganj, which is north of the Ghághra and had been in Bahár 'Ali Khán's section, and the *Galla Dágh* of the whole súbah which had been Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's perquisite, and qaşba Unám Khássa,

round which are tracts which yield very fine rice fit for kings' and princes' tables, and which had been in the Begam's jágir from Shujá'u'ddaulah's time. The Begam did not say much and we her servants thought even this a boon.

The Bahu Begam left for Faizábád on the 27th of Rajab 1200 A.H. [1786 A.D.], and the Nawáb Begam remained some time longer in Lucknow. She left two months later. The two ladies gave orders to prepare for Mírza Naşır's and Ághá Muhammad Taqí Kẖán's weddings. A year was spent in making silver vessels and building houses and preparing carpets, curtains and other necessary furniture. When everything had been arranged according to the wishes of the Begams, they invited Ásafu'ddaulah from Lucknow. The ceremonies of marriage were completed in fifteen days and Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah went on to Bahráich on a pleasure excursion to the fair at Sálár Mas'úd Gházi's tomb. When he called on the elder Begam to bid her goodbye, she asked him to give Mírza Naşır a monthly allowance. The Nawáb handed her a written assignment of two thousand rupees a month. When he called on the Bahu Begam to take leave of her, she asked him to grant an annuity to Muhammad Taqí Kẖán and Bíbí Luţfu'nnisá. He wrote out for them an assignment of three thousand rupees a month: two thousand for Ághá Muhammad Taqí Kẖán and one thousand for Bíbí Luţfu'nnisá. He made these assignments chargeable upon the maháls under Almás 'Alí Kẖán's administration.

In Faizábád during the days of the Bahu Begam, her employés and servants, great and small, enjoyed peace

and security. They had neither the hardships of a campaign nor the griefs of war and battle to undergo. They drew their salaries month by month, paid to them even in advance, in full and without deduction or drawback: and every man lived happy and contented night and day. But suddenly in 1205 A.H. [1791 A.D.] at the end of the month of Ramzán, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was struck down with some disease of the kidneys and ague. All his servants were overcome with grave anxiety; but, as he had still ten years of life allotted to him, he recovered completely after a month's severe illness. At his request I attended him throughout his illness; and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali spent even more than he could afford to dispense in charity and alms-giving in the hope of his recovery.

At this juncture another event took place. Muhammad Bahrám, adopted son of Mír Imámu'ddín of Malihábád, brother of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's wife, was district magistrate of Salon Khássa; and Bhawáni Singh, a Hindú of Malihábád, was the police officer in charge of Mírganj, a station subordinate to Salon, fourteen miles to the south of that place, and lying on the banks of the Ganges. Some runners were posted in the station, who were employed on the English mail-service between Lucknow and Calcutta: and every collector and police officer had strict orders from Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali to pay all possible attention to the comforts of these men, lest they should experience any trouble and make complaints. It happened that seven Company's regulars crossed the Ganges with two boats and went into the market at Mírganj. They came to buy grain, but molested the shopkeepers, some of whom

Riot at Mírganj
between Company's
regulars and the Na-
wáb Wazír's subjects.

they beat with their fists and with sticks. As the people at Mírganj did not know that these regulars were Company's servants who had come from Cawnpore, when they were wantonly attacked and the soldiers, not satisfied with using fists and sticks, wounded some shopkeepers with their swords, the market-folk, of whom there was a large concourse present, it being market day, could stand it no longer and beat the regulars in return. The Company's soldiers, who were few, tried to get into their boats quickly and cross the river, but a cobra appeared in a boat and prevented their entering it. On the rear they were pressed by the market-folk in pursuit, and in front was the snake opposing them. They were in a strange predicament. The snake was alarmed by the noise of the people, and sprang out of the boat into the river. The regulars were saved and rowed away in the boat. Muhammad Bahrám reported the occurrence. An answer was at once sent condemning the action of the market people, saying that the men were probably Company's servants, and directing him on receipt of the letter to place Bha-wáni Singh and the shopkeepers, who had acted so boldly, in fetters and keep them in custody. He was also directed to employ fifty runners and station them between Faizábád and Cawnpore, and to make inquiries and report whether these were Company's sepoy, had they brought boats from Cawnpore or from another place, for if they were Company's sepoy, it was a cause of grave apprehension, and care should be taken to keep the market people and spectators in close custody and under observation. The foolish man, Muhammad Bahrám, short-sighted and inexperienced, failed to carry out any one of these instructions. Even though he was

reminded, he neglected the orders. As a last resource Mr Núrullah of Kasmandi was sent to carry them out. He did so. When the soldiers arrived at their cantonment in Cawnpore, they lodged a complaint, and one thousand men, that is to say, one regiment, were sent out with two cannon for reprisal and they crossed the river. The news of their approach created a tumult as of the resurrection. The wives and daughters of the Saiyads of Rasúlpur and Mustafábád covered their heads and fled barefooted to villages. In every village that they went to for shelter they found the same alarm prevailing. A report of this was sent to Faizábád, where it caused great uneasiness: but an hour later a second report was despatched, stating that the regiment had no sooner crossed over than, before they could draw breath, they re-crossed and returned as they had come: but no explanation of this could be given. Some news writers at Lucknow wrote after making inquiry and informed us that as soon as Haidar Beg Khán heard of this occurrence, he reported it to Nawáb Asaf-u'ddaulah, who went at once to the Resident at Lucknow and addressed him on the subject, saying: "First of all your sepoy's began by an act of oppression within my mother's jágír, and they wounded a shopkeeper. They are in the wrong, and to cap it they have sent a regiment to the spot to inflict punishment. It is your practice to make an inquiry and to punish only when the complainant has proved his case. In this instance what inquiry has been made before sending the regiment?" The Resident wrote at once to the officer commanding the regiment, telling him to withdraw quickly and take care that no improprieties should be committed within the jágír.

Hence it was that the commanding officer turned back. Two days later a letter came from Haidar Beg Khán to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, saying that it seemed that his employés on the jágir had come into collision with the Company's servants, and calling on him to send all of them with the Salon collector into Lucknow. He also called for the names of all the people, of the station police officer and the shopkeepers. As Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali had taken the precaution to have them all in custody and fettered, he sent for them from Salon and forwarded them to Lucknow. They were kept there for six whole months and brought up for inquiry from time to time. At last the fault of the sepoy was proved and these innocent people were released.

Yár 'Ali was a pigeon-fighter who came to Faizábád when a boy, and said he was a Saiyad and a native of Bareli. He was short of stature, good looking, and well dressed. He gave out that he was incomparably superior as a pigeon-fancier and pigeon-flyer. He gradually made the acquaintance of Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah and attached himself to him. He came to be on a familiar footing with the eunuchs and messed and lodged with them: and when he saw that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, and Yúsuf 'Ali Khán were in the ascendant with the Nawáb, he danced special attendance on them. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death a general dispersion followed. Yár 'Ali remained in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's service and by close attendance night and day, and ready service, running on foot beside his palankeen, and also by his pleasantries, he was so successful that he occupied a nearer place to his master's heart than all other servants. He became

a commandant of four hundred and he had a finger in everything. In some things he dared to interfere very unwarrantably. His pride and haughtiness grew by degrees until they proved his ruin. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's private accountant and some friends of his, who were not a match for Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, and nursed a hatred for him in their bosoms, held out to Yár 'Ali the bait of money and induced him to try and kill Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. The fool, notwithstanding his small stature, was led by their instigation to forget himself and wantonly attack that good man. Although Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali feigned not to notice and tried to avoid him, and thought it beneath his dignity to involve himself with such persons, Yár 'Ali fancied himself superior and began to show increased signs of hostility until Akhwand's position was no longer safe. One day Yár 'Ali went to his sepoy and said: "An order has been given for the disbursement of your pay, but "Akhwand will not give it." They went in a body and surrounded Akhwand and wanted to kill him. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán came out and checked them. The day ended without further disturbance. On a second occasion he picked out forty men from his command and bound them over under an oath to support him. He told them that he was going inside the house and that he would pick a quarrel with Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's presence: and when they heard him shout, they were to run in and despatch Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. I was sitting in the room above the gate and noticed the circumstances under which he approached. I became apprehensive and so I came down and seated myself in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's presence. Yár 'Ali came in with a Persian sword and a large shield,

sat down, and said to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán: "Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali is defaming me and casting imputations on me: so I mean to kill him. It is only fair that he should justify his aspersions." Just then Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali came in and sat down. A conversation began. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali said with extreme mildness: "I am a weak schoolmaster who entered this service on five rupees a month. By the kindness of my masters I have risen to possess an elephant, command troops and hold a position. I have never wielded a sword or handled a shield. I am a feeble man. To kill me is not so very difficult a matter. Any one can kill me when he likes." The only persons then present were a house-servant, named 'Abdullah, and a visitor named Mírza Majjan. As it was the hot weather and a strong wind was blowing, the screens were drawn down over the doors of the bárahdari. I was there and another supporter of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's, Mír Ghulám Imám of Sandíla, and we had daggers at our waists. Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, Chaudhrí of Malihábád, who was twenty years old, was also there, but not armed. The other two of us three, who had not the right of private entry into Jawáhir 'Ali's presence, were standing outside the screens looking on. As Yár 'Ali was very empty-headed, he used often to boast in Jawáhir Khán's presence of his bravery and his swordsmanship, and he had led him to believe that there was a foundation for this braggadocio, and that he would show this when occasion arose. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán was not aware that the more a man brags of his skill, the less he can show of it when it is demanded. All of a sudden Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's pride was stirred and his face burned with rage. He said:-

"You lack brain, you call yourself a soldier and you have a sword and shield. I am empty handed and have no wrap on. But it does not become respectful servants to fight in their master's presence. Rise and come outside. Let me see if you can fight me," and rose to go out. Yár 'Ali, on the other hand, wishing to make a show of his bravery before his master, and knowing that Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali would not venture to do anything there, thought he had better do whatever he meant to do, there: so he jumped up and grasped his sword. When I saw him lay his hand on his sword and take his shield from his back and place it on his left hand, I rushed at him and seized him round the waist from behind, while Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali grasped his neck with both hands. Mír Ghulám Imám and Yúsuf both came in. The latter seized him by the left foot and lifted him off the ground, while Mír Ghulám Imám knocked his turban over with his hand, so that the coils loosened and slipped down and enveloped his eyes and neck. He began to quake. His sword and shield fell to the ground. Ghulám Imám then struck him on the forehead, and blood began to flow from a wound which his ring made. A few drops fell on the floor cloth and one or two on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's state cushion. The four of us carried off his weapons and went outside the door, leaving him lying where he was. Meanwhile some one hundred and odd supporters of Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali came up. The forty sepoy who had come with Yár 'Ali, and were standing waiting outside, concluded that he had been killed inside and fled. One or two who stood their ground, finding themselves surrounded by overwhelming numbers, threw down their arms and saved their lives

by flight. I remained for nearly an hour waiting for Yár 'Ali to come out. He was inside crying, bare-headed, with his body entangled in his long head-gear unable to move, fearing that if he went out he would be killed. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who had thought him a true soldier, found him out that day that he was a coward, and all that he said was empty brag. He told the servant in attendance to lift him and turn him out of the house. Yár 'Ali, however, would not rise. The servant dragged him, but he would not sit up. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán said to him: "You used to boast and say that blood would some day be spilt before my state cushion. You were right, for blood has fallen from your forehead." This occurrence was spread over three hours from sunrise. When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán saw that the scene was being prolonged, he sent for Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, gave him a seat and began business. The rest of us went away. When Yár 'Ali found the road outside the door was clear, he rose quickly and went home. From that day he subsided into insignificance, and became contemned by his master and by old and young. He tried much to regain his position, but his efforts were vain: and he was soon after excluded from the darbár. So ended Yár 'Ali.

It must be mentioned that there were gathered round Jawáhir 'Ali Khán men of Learning men and artists who lived under Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's patronage. round Jawáhir 'Ali Khán men of learning and art, such as were not to be found near Nawáb Asafu'd-
daulah, because the latter had no regard for such people. Among these was Munshi Lachhmi Náráyan, a Hindú of the Khatri caste, a resident of Láhaur, who is so celebrated that little need be said of him here. He was a man of culture and great natural ability. Arabic

works, the contents of which are extremely difficult to understand, he could expound without the aid of a teacher, by the light of his own genius, so that professors admitted the accuracy of his interpretations. He used to read with pupils the *Sharah Wiqáya*, the *Hidáya*, and commentaries on the *Qurán*. He wrote Persian with a degree of elegance and freedom so great that he was unequalled in his day, and every Persian scholar held him perfect. His language was so polished and clear that it fell like the water of life on the ears of those who listened, and ignorant people who had no knowledge of what he was saying have often been seen drinking in his words with delight. He has written splendid *qasída*, *ghazals*, and *magnavis*,* but they are difficult to procure. I have made a collection of his prose writings and written a preface to them. Lovers of Persian have eagerly made copies and derived profit and pleasure.

Another of these learned men was Maulavi Muhammad Munír, whose power of memory was so great that he knew by heart all the standard works in Arabic on the fourteen branches of learning, from *Mizánu'ssarf* to *Baizáwi* and *Musallam*, and the Persian *Díwáns* and prose works, old and new. Arabic and Persian scholars of his day came time after time to test him, and whatever they asked him he answered them at once without hesitation, and he recited some lines of the book referred to, and he delivered many explanations and expositions of each passage or couplet without looking at the book.

A third was Muhammad Khalíl, the calligrapher, who used to write eighteen different kinds of handwriting. God had given him such command of his

* Forms of Persian poetry.

fingers that, when he saw the handwriting of calligraphers past and present, such as Mír 'Ali, Mír 'Imád, Haddád, and Yáqút Raqam Khán, he used to copy it so perfectly that experts could not tell the original from the copy. His pupils after a brief period of application became the first artists of the day.

The fourth I shall mention is Mírza Muhammad 'Ali, seal-engraver, who enjoyed in his day unrivalled celebrity at Lucknow.

When the Faizábád establishments were broken up, Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah with great entreaties induced all these men to attach themselves to him. When the diverted stream returned to its course, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán by dint of many devices and contrivances succeeded in bringing back Shekh Muhammad Khálíl and Munshi Lachhmi Náráyan.

In the year 1201 A.H. [1786-87 A.D.] Nawáb Sálár

The Bahu Begam goes to Lucknow again to see her brother, Nawáb Sálár Jang.

Jang fell ill and he was at the point of death. The Bahu Begam was extremely attached to her brother, and, when she heard of his illness, was so distressed that she hastened to Lucknow. She remained there for a month and a half, and went daily from Machhí Bhawan, which was her residence, to his house to see him. As his ailment was chronic and his illness protracted, she was compelled to return at length to Faizábád in tears without hope of his recovery, but she promised Asafu'ddaulah that she would come to Lucknow once a year. Soon after this Nawáb Sálár Jang died in that year. After a year had passed the Bahu Begam went, at the Nawáb's invitation, to Lucknow at the time when the Hindús celebrate their Holí. The Nawáb used to associate

freely with Hindús and had a great fancy for such displays. He used at this festival to give a public entertainment and spend large sums of money. She remained a month there to please her son and then returned to Faizábád.

It was also Ásafu'ddaulah's practice every year Ásafu'ddaulah and after the close of the rainy season his mother visit Bitúl. to visit the hill resort of Bitúl, and some months were spent in this excursion. In 1205 A.H. [1790-91 A.D.] he came to Faizábád and begged the Bahu Begam to accompany him. He said that since his father's death the only journey she had ever undertaken was that of four stages into Lucknow, and, if she would now join him, it would both cheer her and gratify him. She was with great difficulty persuaded to undertake the journey, went and gazed upon the wonders of the hills, and returned to Faizábád after two months and a half. The reason of her going to see the wonders of that place was this. Shujá'u'ddaulah, the late Wazír of the Empire, had once proposed to go to the foot of the hills. The people of the hills, knowing that he was an intrepid soldier and had an army and artillery, and fearing that he might become acquainted with the mountain paths and annex their country, became greatly alarmed, and they opened an embankment which confined the water in a certain place and let it flow, so that his tents could not be pitched. He turned back quickly. The mountaineers, however, knew that Ásafu'ddaulah did not trouble himself about his own dominions, that he had readily given up Banáras, a rich province, and this was a gauge of his greed for territory, so they freely allowed him access. He ascended the mountain with the Bahu

Begam and his officers and built a house there, to which he went every year.

The Guláb Bári is a garden laid out by Nawáb Building of Shujá' Šafdar Jang Abu'lmanšúr Kẖán, in u'ddaulah's tomb. which there was an abundance of roses. Its length lay from north to south, and the gate is on the north side. When the Nawáb died at Páparghát in 1167 A. H. [1753 A. D.], the Nawáb Begam interred his corpse in the middle of that garden and remained for some days in mourning at the head of his grave. When she disinterred his remains and sent them to Sháhjahánábád she built a dome and numerous buildings in the garden. She left the shell of his tomb standing. When Shujá'u'ddaulah died, it was resolved to lay him for a while near the same spot and then commit him to earth beside his father's grave in Sháhjahánábád. Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Kẖán had agreed with the earth for any time between one and ten years.* The Bahu Begam, through Jawáhir 'Ali Kẖán, paid for readers of the Qurán, for the Fátíha ceremonies, and for carpets and illumination. This went on for seven years. In 1206 A.H. [1791 A.D.], when the eunuchs were imprisoned and the jágirs confiscated, the Bahu Begam was obliged to confess herself unable to meet the expenses of the Fátíha and maintenance of the tomb. The Nawáb Begam then undertook these expenses. Maṭbú' 'Ali Kẖán, her eunuch, who had of old had a great friendship with Hasan Razá Kẖán, Minister of the Súbah, wrote a letter on this subject

* Musalmáns believe that if a corpse be committed to earth with intention of disinterring it and taking it to another place, the term being stated at time of interment to the earth within which it will be removed, the earth will not suffer the corpse to become corrupt within that term.

to him. The Khán, who had been a constant attendant and companion of Shujá'u'ddaulah's night and day, had a sincere love for him, and when the Nawáb died, he put off his ordinary clothing and seated himself at his grave. Ásafu'ddaulah removed him by force from the grave. As the Khán was a resolute man, he continued to wear the garments of a darwesh under his other clothes. To resume, the result was that Hasan Razá Khán in 1204 A.H. [1789 A.D.] induced Ásafu'ddaulah to spend money on the tomb. On the first occasion he obtained seven thousand gold pieces from the treasury and sent them to Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, who handed them over to Hemráj Brahman, a very prudent and intelligent man, and ordered him to build a tomb. Hemráj employed his younger son, Bhawáni Parshád, to superintend the work. The Guláb Bári was then very small. There were many houses in front of it and behind it belonging to residents of Faizábád. Hemráj bought up their houses and built the present lofty dome and a number of large edifices. After this Hasan Razá Khán obtained various sums from time to time from Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah and sent them to Faizábád, until eventually a total of seven laks of rupees was reached. After two years had elapsed some jealous person made a complaint to Hasan Razá Khán against Hemráj's son to the effect that he was embezzling a great deal of the money, so he sent Mírza Hasan 'Ali, a slave of his own, to check the expenditure. This is not the Hasan 'Ali who commanded a regiment. To sum up, in three years and some months all these buildings were completed. After the Begam's death the care of them was entrusted to Hasan Razá Khán. He sent a learned man named Mír Kallú, a friend of his, to act as a

caretaker. He added to the style and ornament of the place. The drummers, the gong, and the guard of regulars are additions of his. After Hasan Razá Khán's death several curators successively held charge. Three thousand rupees were allotted annually by Ásafu'ddaulah for the 'urs* of Shujá'u'ddaulah and the Nawáb Begam. Their descendants, who succeeded Ásafu'ddaulah, decreased the grant from year to year. Let us see how much less they will give this year than last year. As Nawáb Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán was extremely attached to Faizábád, he was easily induced by Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán to build a mosque while the mausoleum was under construction. He bought up Sharíf Beg Mughal's house between the southern gate of the Fort and the Tirpauliya, and threw it down and built the mosque in that place. As Yúnus 'Ali Khán Eunuch's Sarái was three miles from the Fort and Chauk, travellers experienced inconvenience, and so Hasan Razá Khán built a spacious sarái near the mosque. All these buildings he constructed through the agency of Lála Hemráj Brahman, who was originally private accountant to Muharram 'Ali Khán, the Nawáb Begam's agent, and became by degrees through his good services the factotum of the establishments of all the eunuchs as well as of the Nawáb Begam. I shall now give a brief notice of Hemráj, who was a compound of sagacity and forethought.

Yáqút Khán, a eunuch and Názir to Nawáb Šafdar Jang, Abu'lmanšúr Khán, lived in great state and splendour, and up to this day, the fifth generation of his successors, his seal is still

Beginning and end
of Lála Hemráj, Mu-
harram 'Ali Khán's
accountant.

* Celebrations in memory of the dead.

affixed to all treasure chests and bags. A Brahman of the Sultánpur district entered his service and became a Musalmán and was named Ghulám Husen K̄hán Nímcha. He generally wore a small sword. He became so skilful a horseman that in all India there was not his equal. Malik Patera, Muhammad Sháh's famous jockey, was nothing to him. Many stories are told of his feats of horsemanship. I shall mention only one simple trick of which I have heard from my grandfather. While his horse was galloping he could slip from his saddle on one side, clamber round under the horse's belly and seat himself on the saddle from the other side. When he wished he could stand up in his saddle. He used often to ride standing on the backs of two horses and gallop them as fast as they could go. This is well known in these parts. After his death, Hemráj, one of his paternal uncle's sons, succeeded him as Yáqút K̄hán's minister and worked as accountant. When Yáqút K̄hán died, Hemráj entered the service of Muharram 'Ali K̄hán, who was a novice of Yáqút K̄hán's, and eventually supplanted his master and became general agent, possessing control of all departments, and reduced the old head of the Begam's household to a cypher. Although he could neither read nor write Persian, yet strangers could not tell from his conversation whether he was illiterate or literate. He was a pleasant and ready man, and talked so agreeably that his hearers were charmed and would have been glad to have him repeat his words. They used to say that Sarsuti was with him. This is the name of some female among the fairies or jins, such

as Debi or Bhawáni.* Any votary who worships her faithfully has her in his power, and becomes a master of repartee and eloquent language. No word can ever escape his lips which would cause him shame or discomfort, and he can give a proper answer to every question, though the questioner be an emperor and the answerer be a beggar. I had the fortune to be in his society for some months. His counsels and his plans as a man of the world were very sound and reliable and but seldom failed. The following is an illustration of his clever management. After Shujá'u'ddaulah's death, Muharram 'Ali Khán's ostensible income fell off and he had a great many servants. His income did not suffice for more than half their pay. Hemráj was therefore compelled to resort to subterfuges and put them off. For instance, if he had promised to pay any one on a particular day, the unfortunate man did not get his pay until six months after. If any one asked the recipient how long it was since he had been paid, he had to say it was six months. Yet, when Hemráj's name was mentioned, he praised him and gave him credit, and added: "It is no fault of his. He is not to blame. Such and such a cause prevented him paying me." I have often remarked it, and I remember well how he promised some great man to provide a place for his son in the service of the Nawáb Begam, and the man has run after him for six months and spent six thousand rupees in pushing his claim, and in the end has gained nothing, and yet has been perfectly pleased and satisfied with Hemráj. There

* Our author is in error. Sarasuti, Sanso. Saraswati, is the wife of Brahma, the goddess of learning and fine arts. She is like the Minerva of the Greeks.

are many stories told of him. I shall tell two to please my readers and illustrate my meaning.

When the marriage of Mírza Muhammad Naşır with the young Begam, the daughter of Bîbî 'Ashûram, the Nawáb Begam's adopted child, was proceeding, the two Begams and their retinue and servants were in a large gathering with Asafu'ddaulah in the Motí Bágh and were witnessing a performance of dancing and singing, and it was past midnight and all shopkeepers had shut up their shops and retired to bed. I was sitting with Lála Hemráj and two or three other friends in Paniya, the Begam's waiting maid's, verandah, and we were joking together. Suddenly we heard the approach of the bridegroom announced in the seraglio, and all the Begams, of superior and inferior rank (by the latter I mean Baní Khánam Sáhiba, Ámina Begam, Bandí Begam, and Mírza Yúsuf's daughter, the bridegroom's grandmother and others,) were collected together, and they were all tying ornaments and jewels, as each could afford, on Mírza Muhammad Naşır's head, arms, and wrists. The Bahu Begam, who was wealthiest of them all, called for a gold turban ornament set with precious stones of immense value, which she had ordered and kept ready for this occasion, and she wished that the bridegroom should first of all tie the turban ornament given by her on his head. When the custodian of her jewels, who was a woman, brought it, there was no string attached to it. There was no time then to get a gold cord and other appendages, for the bridegroom had entered the courtyard of the house, and so the Begam sent Dáráb 'Ali Khán to Hemráj to find a piece of thread. I was on familiar terms with Hemráj and said to him: "Good bye now to your fore-

"thought and resource. What will you say?" He laughed and drew three cords such as the Begam wanted from his turban and handed them over and said: "Take which you like." We were astonished. The Begam, too, was astonished and commended him.

The other story is this. Shekh Zainu'l'ábdín, a friend of mine from my native place, who was an intelligent and discreet young man and very laborious, had great influence with Rája Tikait Rái, a Minister of the Súbah, and other nobles under Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah. He was especially familiar with the officials of the revenue department and he used to haunt the offices night and day. He was a medium through whom people effected many of their objects, and he was a skilful hand in procuring rent-free holdings, and daily stipends, and grants of villages. He was famed for this in Lucknow. Many a difficult knot his fingers opened. Suddenly a business of his own arose with Nawáb Sarfarázu'ddaulah Hasan Razá Khán, but he could not effect his object owing to the hatred entertained for him by Makhú Khán, the former head of police in Lucknow city, whose tricks and roguery are notorious, and who was then Hasan Razá Khán's general agent and factotum. When the Begams came to Lucknow, and the proclamation of their supremacy over all the nobles of Lucknow was issued, the orders of Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, the Nawáb Begam's eunuch, who was a very close friend of Hasan Razá Khán's, were as good as a divine revelation. Lála Hemráj was their go-between for the transaction of business. Shekh Zainu'l'ábdín asked me to introduce him to Hemráj. As there was no ceremony between us, I took him with me. The moment the two of us entered and his

eyes fell on the Shekh, he jumped up and showed himself most polite and attentive, made a low bow as if to a king, grasped the Shekh's arms and seated him on his official seat, and stood before him with folded hands in the most respectful attitude where the shoes were lying put off below, silent and trembling. I quietly whispered in his ear: "What's the meaning of all this mockery?" He replied: "My senses are gone just now. I am not myself in his presence. For God's sake take him away, and do not bring him here again." I said: "What has entered your head? Who do you think he is and why has he come?" He replied: "I can do nothing." "Well," said I, "you must at any rate say something." "I gather from the man's face," said he, "that if he liked he could rend a piece of earth and add it on to heaven, and *vice versa*, if he pleased: and there is no difficult affair on earth to settle which he cannot contrive to arrange, but he is in some desperate strait which is too much for him with all his ability; he has heard of the proclamation regarding the Begams' powers, and has found out the friendship which exists between you and me, and he has pressed for an introduction. All I have to say is that I, a helpless old man, cannot hope to accomplish what he is unable to do." I said: "He has no object in view. He merely wanted to meet you." "You're wrong," he said. "I shall esteem it a great favour if you will take him away until I collect my senses and then let him tell me his object." What Zainu'l'ábdín had in view was this. His grandfather in the days of the great 'Alámگیر had bought the proprietary right in a village and obtained possession. It was confiscated in the time of

Shujá'u'ddaulah and passed out of his ancestors' hands. Hasan Razá Khán wished to purchase the village while he was Minister of the Súbah. The descendants of the old proprietors came forward, described themselves as the then proprietors of the place, and proceeded to sell. Shekh Zainu'l'ábdín heard of this, appeared with the deed of sale which had been drawn in his grandfather's name, and managed to extract three hundred rupees from Hasan Razá Khán's agents. He wanted four hundred rupees besides from Hasan Razá Khán himself, whose local agents had entered upon possession of the village without due formality. They had neither obtained the original deed of sale from the Shekh nor acquired a new title-deed. When the old agents were displaced and Makhú Khán was appointed in their place, the Shekh asked him for half the money. He refused to pay it. The Shekh wanted Hemráj to obtain Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's permission to introduce him directly to Hasan Razá Khán and ignore Makhú Khán, so that he might obtain the sum without giving up the old deed or writing a new one.

In short, Hemráj was in the affairs of life liberal, generous, trustworthy, genial and agreeable, and in all concerns of his employers true to them. He built in his day many Hindú temples, and, having raised a lofty residence for himself, he died in the very height of his wealth and power.

Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali, resident of Kasmaudi, a village of the Malihábád pargana, was appointed in 1176 A.H. [1762 A.D.] tutor to the eunuchs, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, 'Ambar 'Ali Khán, Latáfat 'Ali Khán, Yúsuf 'Ali Khán, and Muhammad Wajih, and continued to hold that appointment until Nuṣrat 'Ali Khán, Názir, died in 1182 A.H.

[1768 A.D.] and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán succeeded to the Nazárat. All these eunuchs obtained posts of importance. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali then became an agent in the various offices of his former pupils, and he singly performed the duties of all. He was an upright man of good address. He could not find any one as trustworthy as he was himself, and so he allowed no one to share his responsibilities; but he was on the lookout for a reliable man. He was very successful. His employers, his subordinates, his friends, the people of the city and villages, were all pleased with him. He lived in Faizábád in the enjoyment of a good name, and not a complaint was ever heard about him from any one's lips. Every one was contented and happy. He was very generous and open-handed. There is no room here to tell all his good qualities, but a few will be mentioned. The Bahu Begam has been known to order from the bázár goods worth two or three thousand rupees, and then, naming a sum, tell him to settle the account for so much, but the owners of the goods were not satisfied with the price named by the Begam. He used to pay the shopkeepers in such cases whatever they wanted, bearing the loss himself. When he went to Lucknow, Jawáhir 'Ali Khán used to give him orders to purchase horses and shawls. These he always brought and never asked for their price. When he went to the house of a special friend on the occasion of a wedding or a funeral, he paid the expenses of all the ceremonies himself. To all under-servants of every degree he used to pay an extra allowance from his own pocket, bearing a fixed proportion according to their degree to the monthly pay they drew from their employers. Once some sweeper or other dishonest servant

stole the silver chains of the pricklers of the matchlocks of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's bodyguard, and the order was given* that all the servants should be fined a month's pay. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali remonstrated against punishing all for the fault of one, and said he would make good the chains. He was told that the order was meant to operate as a warning for the future. When pay day came round, he said nothing to his master, but paid the whole of the men. The rascal had found the theft sweet, so he repeated it. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán then ordered that all the men should refund one month's wages to him, and he called in three thousand rupees in this way and handed them over to the keeper of his private purse. Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali now made gold chains and put them on the muskets and paid the servants from his own purse. When we had such a master and such an adviser, we passed our days in wonderful happiness and freedom from care. Ten or twelve thousand men there were in the time of the Bahu Begam so happy that they held the stories of the golden days of Naushírwán and Sháhjahán to be but myths.* The lot of all the tenants of the jágírs and the population of the city and the sepoys and of the members of the official circle was alike smooth and happy. Of a ruler such as this it may be well said:—

Soldier and subject praise alike thy sway,
This for thy justice loves thee, that his pay.

But,

Though we gather in a circle
And we shut the door on care,
There is one will come to part us
And will find an entrance there,

* Lit., "looked on the time of Naushírwán and Sháhjahán as a calendar out of date."

And so it was. In the beginning of Jamādi, uṣṣāni 1206 A.H. [1792 A.D.] Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali fell ill. A severe fever laid hold of him and he suffered for two months and some days. The most able physicians and righteous mendicants of the utmost sanctity, and sorcerers, charmers, and astrologers, dosed him and prayed for him and adopted all means that man possesses, whether the teaching of science or the outcome of experience, and alms were given to the poor, and pious and good works were done for his recovery, but water seemed only like oil to feed the fire. When his appointed time came, his spirit fled from its earthly cage at the hour of prayer on the morning of the 8th Sha'bān.

The darbār was now without any so efficient an official, and the arrangements which had lasted unbroken for twenty-eight years were now interrupted. Although he had left adult children by a mistress, Jawābir 'Ali Khān addressed me and said: "You have always been a co-operator with Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali in the revenue assessment of the mahāls, and have been employed to realize the revenue from the collectors. You are acquainted with this work, and I appoint you on probation to succeed him. Do your best now to collect the same amount that Aḵhwand Ahmad 'Ali handed to me every year. I shall then appoint you permanently to the office of agent." As Fazl 'Ali, the deceased's sister's son, had been instructed in all the ways of the department by me, and he had received solemn promises from me, and this splendid appointment was not destined for me, so now, although Sīdi Sikandar 'Ali as a friend pressed me not to let this opening slip and urged me to accept the

appointment and become the head of this vast establishment, I declined the offer, and I advised Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to appoint Fazl 'Ali to succeed Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. He did not approve of the suggestion. I did my utmost for three days to move him and at last carried the point. The first thing the shortsighted, ungrateful, and venomous creature did was to set about ousting me. There are some circumstances under which a man's character is sure to be found out: first, when he is travelling with others; second, when he is living in the same house with others; third, in money-lending or partnership in business and the like; fourth, a rise in the world. I had had experience of Fazl 'Ali in the first three, but I had had no experience of him in the fourth case. He had from his childhood approached me with obsequiousness and flattery. Man, being weak and imperfect, cannot tell the true character of his fellow-men. God alone who made men knows their good and their bad qualities. When Fazl 'Ali had made himself sure of his appointment, he resolved that he would remove every official who had served under Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. He succeeded in getting rid of them all within less than a year, and he disgusted all the friends of his master, who had been accustomed to the good manners, habits, and qualities of Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali. He managed to maintain himself with great difficulty in a course of disgrace and misdoing for four and a-half years, but was at last overthrown by his own misbehaviour which hunted him like an enemy. He was imprisoned and ruined. He was discarded like a hair plucked out of the dough, and banished. He lived for twenty years after, but never saw Faizábád again. He died still

cherishing the hope of return, but carried the regret of disappointed hope to his grave.

Jawáhir 'Ali Khán sought for an able man, but was unable to secure one. Ganj 'Ali Khán, a member of 'Ali Mardán Khán's family, who had after a long career in the Begam's service committed an embezzlement and been sent to prison, was released without reason after Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's death. He was appointed to manage the jágírs. Although he was a polished and liberal man, he was a peculator; and so not more than two years had passed before he was imprisoned for life for embezzling his employer's funds. He died soon after.

Sadru'n-nisá Begam was the eldest daughter of Nawáb Burhánu'l-mulk Sa'ádat Khán, and Death of the Nawáb 'Aliya, the Nawáb Begam. conspicuous among good women of the past and present for her piety, reverence and scrupulous care in matters of religion, and surpassed the ladies of her age in modesty, chastity, liberality and sense of justice. With all these qualities she was endowed with a degree of courage wholly unusual among women, that put many brave men of her day to shame. After Nádir Sháh's invasion and Nawáb Burhánu'l-mulk's death, the empire began to totter, and the sleeping elements of strife woke to action. Every ragged villager fancied himself somebody. Shekhs Nuşratullah and Farhatullah, landholders of Amethi Bandagi, which is fourteen miles from Lucknow, raised their heads and gathered a hundred thousand villagers round them. They were joined by the whole of Hasanpur, Tiloi, Garh Amethi, and the newly-converted Muslim Afgháns of Jagdíspur, which is known as Bárah

Banaudah,* and they took the field together. Nawáb Şafdar Jang, Abu'lmanşúr Khán, although he had, a force of Mughals and artillery, was afraid to face them and hesitated for a time to pitch his camp outside Lucknow. His delay was not due to cowardice, but he felt that they were not his equals, and if by any chance he suffered a defeat, he would never be able to raise his head. Owing to his forbearance and inactivity the contemptible rustics grew bolder every day. The Nawáb Begam encouraged the Nawáb, ordered the camp to be moved outside the city, and disposed of the rabble in a twinkling.

On another occasion when, as Wazír of the Empire, Şafdar Jang met the Bangash Afgháns of Farrukhábád, the fates were against him and he returned to Sháhjahánábád, leaving his task uncompleted. The nobles of the empire avoided him and the Emperor ceased to regard him with favour. In this case too he acted on the good advice of the Begam, called in the aid of the Marhata troops, and punished the Afgháns soundly. He recovered his lost ground. When any difficulty arose, it was always settled with ease by this good lady's excellent counsel.

She bought the land within the fort of Faizábád from the local landholders and proprietors, so that her daily prayers should be acceptable† to God. Nawáb

* The author gives the following note: "Bárah Banaudah is a Hindí term, *bárah* being twelve and *ban* a jungle, i.e., there are twelve jungles in this neighbourhood, which afford shelter and a measure of subsistence to the villagers."

† The daily private prayers of a Muhammadan are five, and if they be said on land oppressively taken from another, they are not acceptable in the eyes of God.

Shujá'u'ddaulah, her son, paid her the most profound respect, and if God forgave him his sins, it will have been for this. He was building for her a fine house on the banks of the river, with quarters for her servants; and pending its completion she was living in the Motí Bágh, which is in the heart of the city, but he died before it was quite finished. She turned from the world and its concerns and remained where she was. She took Dankosh, which is known as Bahár, in the south, and 'Aliganj near Lucknow, and some small zila's, such as Beganganj near Faizábád and Raiganj in Awadh, and zila' Bhatá,i near Salon, for the maintenance of her household, and satisfied herself with that allotment. She devoted the rest of her life to prayer and penances. Her eunuchs were Mubarram 'Ali Khán, Názir, Ilṭifát 'Ali Khán, Jáwed 'Ali Khán, Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán, Mián Bahrabyáb, Suḵhnfahm, Mián Shafaqqat, Mián Dáná, Baḵhtáwar, and Tez Hosh, also called Firásat Mahli; and there were also some others who used to come to see her. All of these had friends, companions and servants. They formed a little court that added lustre to the city. There were five hundred sepoys to guard her residence and offices: and able physicians and many nobles of the Delhi court, who were in reduced circumstances, obtained employment in her service. She followed the style and fashion of the days of 'Alamgir and Bahádur Sháh. When she went out she was escorted by macebearers decently dressed, and elephants with flags and drums, all moving in good order and slowly, not like the nobles of these days, who hurry along so unnecessarily, so fast that their footmen are bathed in perspiration after a few paces and sometimes slip and fall. Yet they greatly

affect this unbecoming style. All her dealings with her tenantry and shopkeepers were fair and honourable. There was no oppression or compulsion. Her servants enjoyed a sense of ease and security.

I must here tell a story which I heard from a reliable source. When the Begam was six months gone with child, Shujá'u'ddaulah that was, she saw in a dream a person writing with a pen on a tablet of wood. She asked who he was and what he was writing. He said: "You have in your womb a boy. I am looking into his destiny, to see what will happen to him in his lifetime." The Begam asked him how long will he live. "Forty years," was the reply. "That's very little," said the Begam: "add something." The writer added two. She spoke again and said: "Forty-two is about the same as forty." And he answered: "To please you I add two more." The Begam then began to entreat him, but he vanished, and she awoke. Though this was only a dream, yet, owing to the weakness of humanity, it created a strong impression on her heart. When Shujá'u'ddaulah's age had passed forty, and he was encamped in Rámghát for the assistance of the Ruhelas, the Begam made preparation for a pilgrimage to the House of God (Mecca), and intended to go and take up her permanent residence in the holy place, that she might not see the evil day she dreaded. She asked the Nawáb's permission to leave. He wrote to her from Rámghát saying he too intended to make the pilgrimage and he would join her. The intention was never carried out. Next year, when the Ruhela war took place, the Begam started after his victory with a heart full of fears and apprehension from Lucknow and went to Baisauli, and returned with her son to

Faizábád. After his death she never left her house but twice, when Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah induced her to come to Lucknow. She lived for twelve years after her return from Lucknow, when Wazír 'Ali Khán's marriage had taken place. She observed a fast of three months every year, and she built a mosque and Imámbára behind the Motí Bágh. On the 28th of Zíqa'd 1210 A. H. [1796 A. D.] she expired while bending her body at Zuhr prayer.* The words "Bangla kharáb shud"† are the chronogram of her death. They laid her to rest by Shujá'u'ddaulah's side in the Guláb Bári.

As her death was sudden, it caused great consternation in Faizábád generally, and chiefly among her dependants and servants. First there was the death of their mistress and next the dread of inquiries by Asafu'ddaulah. People lost their senses and began to think of their own safety. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán was especially apprehensive, as he was the most influential of all the eunuchs. There was round him a large circle of friends, Saiyads, Mughals, and Shekhs of eminent piety, and when this blow fell upon him he distributed to those friends around him, whom he had long known and trusted, for safe keeping the money, the gold and silver, the costly clothing, shawls, and the like, and the jewels and the weapons, which he had collected during the seventy-five years that had elapsed since the rise of Burhánulmulk; and he sat secure. Soon came Tahsín 'Ali Khán, a eunuch, from Asafu'ddaulah

* There are five hours of prayers: Fajr, when light appears on the horizon; Zuhr, after noon of day at maximum heat; 'Asr, when objects cast shadow double their length; Maghrib, after sunset; 'Ishá, when twilight has ended.

† Bangla (Faizábád) was ruined.

to take possession of the Begam's estate. He imprisoned all the eunuchs and took Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán to Lucknow. Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah examined him upon oath as to the estate of his deceased grandmother. He said that he had given up all that there was and he placed his hand on the Nawáb's head and swore this. The news of this travelled to Faizábád and reached the friends he had trusted. The whole of them at once proved faithless and forgot the claims of friendship and service of thirty years, and turned their backs upon him: while he feared to ask them for his property lest they should resort to shifts and raise reports which might reach the ears of the Nawáb Wazír and his Ministers. So he said nothing. Some time after Ásafu'ddaulah's death Hasan Razá Khán as a friend of Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán's found fault with him for not knowing better the men with whom he had mixed for years. Maṭbú' 'Ali Khán said that they had then needed him, and they concurred in everything he said and chorused all his actions with "Bismillah" and "Alhamdulillah," and he had no chance of finding them out: that he would have been open to reproach if he had not trusted them rather than servants: where was he to get angels or genii to do his bidding?*

Where thousands of labourers derived their support directly and indirectly from an establishment such as this had been, and soldiers and shopkeepers and various persons with claims were dependent upon her bounty, the death of the Begam caused a wonderful dispersion. The eunuchs wandered to Lucknow and some prepared for the journey to Mecca, while others dragged out the

* This paragraph is a compressed rendering of two long pages of utterly profitless dialogue.

remnants of their lives in distress. I saw her maid-servants, who had lived modestly in the seclusion of the harem, now hiding themselves in some old building within the fort, huddled together like grain in a pitcher or a sack, subsisting on two or three rupees a month: and even this they got from the Bahu Begam. No one knows what has happened to them since she died. The change came in the twinkling of an eye, and not a trace is now left of the nobles and gentry who used to come night and morning to pay court at her door. "And so," saith the Almighty, "I work changes in the fortunes of men." *

I now proceed to give an account of Nawáb Bani Khánam Sábiba, who was one of the noble residents of Faizábád. She was the wife of Nawáb Najmu'd-
 An account of Nawáb Bani Khánam. daulah Is'háq Khán and daughter of Qásim 'Ali Khán. Regarding his intimacy with the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, Mír Ghulám 'Ali, who wrote under the *pseudonym* of Azád, and other historians of the present day have written to the effect that his influence with the Emperor was greater than that of the Agent-general, Nawáb Asaf Jáh, and of the Grand Wazír, Nawáb Qamru'ddín Khán. As his history and the growth of his intimacy with the Emperor are too well known to need more than mention here, I turn to narrate the history of his wife. The Emperor out of regard for the Nawáb used to call Bani Khánam "Bahu," a term used in Hindi of a son's wife, and the Nawáb received daily proofs of the Emperor's favour as long as he lived. The robe which he wore on the day of his coronation he presented to

* Lit. "These days we change among men" (Qurán).

Najmu'ddaulah, and as long as Bani Khánam lived it remained in her wardrobe. When she died, it was confiscated to Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah and is now in the royal wardrobe at Lucknow. Flowers were worked on it on both sides alike with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. It must have cost more than a lak of rupees. The glitter of the jewels dazzled the eyes of spectators. To be brief, in the time of the Emperor Ahmad Sháh, when he had no longer the same respect or regard paid to him at court, he went with Nawáb Safdar Jang Abu'lmanşúr Khán from Sháhjahánábád, when he went to fight the Bangash Afgháns, resigned himself to death and sought an escape from the troubles of life. His widow, Bani Khánam, after the ruin wrought in Sháhjahánábád by the successive incursions of Ahmad Abdáli, King of Irán, the plundering forces of the Marhatas, the Rubelas, and the Játs, left that city and sought safety under the shadow of Shujá'u'ddaulah. The Nawáb Wazír received her with the utmost care and attention. Besides the money and the vessels and clothing and rare products of many countries befitting her rank and dignity, which he sent her as his guest on the day of her arrival, he allotted her five thousand rupees a month and assigned her pargana Jagdíspur from which to draw the money. Almás 'Ali Khán, whose history is too well known to need narration, was one of her slaves. The Bahu Begam, who worshipped her as if she had been her mother, paid her as great respect as she did to the Nawáb Begam: and she resided inside the fort of Faizábád in the house built by 'Ali Beg Khán. She was so modest and chaste that she would not permit even her own brother, Ághá 'Ali Khán, to come

into her presence without being announced. When she wished to see her brother, she carefully wound up even her hands and feet, so that not a bit of her was visible except her face. As she had only this one brother and not a child of her own, she loved him most ardently. This brother, who lived on his sister, so far forgot himself that he bid good bye to the observance of fasts and his daily prayers, and was always in a state of intoxication. He did not know how to tie a turban on his head and used to wear a tiara. He neglected his wife and children and cohabited with strange women. At last he formed an intrigue with Núrjahán, one of his sister's slaves, the custodian of her jewels and treasure, whose husband, Muhammad Šaláh,* was living. The story of this has already been told in connection with Jawáhir 'Alī Khán. When the secret became known to Bani Khánam, she turned him and Núrjahán out of her house, and never looked on his face again as long as she lived. She took more thought for her relatives than has ever been seen or heard to have been taken by good men or women in other days. When she heard that any daughter of either a relative or a stranger was of an age to marry and her guardians were not in possession of funds, she undertook to bear all the expenses and earned the great merit of a good deed. She was a generous dispenser of charity. Poor people from Delhi and Lucknow came to her and obtained relief. As she had savings accumulated in the past, she added from them something to her five thousand rupees' fixed stipend, when the day for disbursement came, and gave to her own

* The name is here given Šalīb, but in the previous passage referred to in the text it is Šaláh. The present reading seems an error.

relations and to strangers. When she had passed four-score years, she died after a few days' illness on the 15th Shawwál in the year A.H.* and left a large circle of mourners. Her large establishment had given good custom to the shopkeepers of the city and a great deal of money changed hands. The prosperity of the city declined after her death and that of the Nawáb Begam.

A third death followed. Nawáb Zafaru'ddaulah, Nawáb Mírza 'Ali Khán's eldest son, who was fond of a large escort, both mounted and foot, and adorned his person, and used to distribute alms to poor and indigent people, died soon after this. Four hundred men had been dependent upon him. When these nobles had died, the only powerful person left was the Bahu Begam. As her establishment was well managed and she supported some ten thousand men, and Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had a fancy for gathering round him all kinds of men, the people of the city dwelt happy and prosperous under the shadow of his protection, and none of them missed the great patrons who had passed away.

For a year before his death Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah used to speak very despondently in the presence of his orderlies, who were constantly in attendance upon him. For instance, when the news of the approach of Zamán Sháh, King of Irán and parts of Turkistán, spread through Hindústán, the Nawáb said: "All the people of this country but me will see the commotion the king's invasion will cause.

Death of Ásafu'ddaulah; the Bahu Begam visits Lucknow; grows dissatisfied with Sa'ádat 'Ali and returns to Faizábád; death of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán: Dáráb 'Ali Khán succeeds him.

* The year is left blank in the MS.

"I shall not live to see it." I have heard from Shekh Muhammad 'Atá, a dirge-singer who was for many years a companion of Rája Jháo La'l, that a Brahman of Banáras, who was in great distress and had two unmarried daughters, was begging from all wealthy Hindús and Musalmáns, bankers and traders in the city. Not one of them had any pity for him. He despaired of help and took to the hills and forests. He passed beyond the Bitúl hill and wandered on in destitution. He came to a place covered so thickly with shady trees that for several stages he could not see the sky. In the middle of this black forest he saw a small building of baked bricks. He was astonished, walked round it, saw a small door, opened it with great difficulty and entered. He saw a man in each corner, buried in meditation on God and forgetful of all else. He sat down on one side. When it was evening, they raised their heads and proceeded to provide food which is the staff of life. They went through their customary operations. Whatever they had they brought and gave a fifth part to their new guest. They made signs with their hands to him and inquired who he was. He told his story. One of the four took a leaf of Bhojpatra* and wrote some words on it, which were neither Hindi, Persian, nor Arabic, with his own hand, handed it to him and told him to take it to Lucknow and show it to Ásafu'ddaulah in the distance, when he was out taking an airing; that he would at once give him a present of a thousand rupees and take the writing from him. He added: "When you get close up to him and enter into conversation with him, don't be afraid, but say

* The bark of a kind of birch.

"that the senders of this note tell him that his term of life in this world is come to an end and he must come quickly." The man travelled on till he came to Lucknow, confronted Ásafu'ddaulah when out riding in his litter, showed him the note in the distance. The moment the Nawáb Wazír saw him, he stopped his litter and called the man. He took the letter from him and put it in his pocket, and ordered Rájá Jháó La'l to give the man a thousand rupees at once and feed him well as long as he chose to remain at Lucknow. When the Brahman approached close to the Nawáb, he delivered the message, and the Nawáb replied: "I know." Rájá Jháó La'l inquired from the Brahman at his house and heard the whole story. He wondered what the secret was. He visited the Nawáb Wazír, meaning to find out the secret, but the Nawáb Wazír knew by his face what he intended and, before he could ask any questions, said: "Take care and ask no questions about the Brahman. I shall say nothing." He ventured again to ask some question and was peremptorily stopped. Six months afterwards, when the Rájá and the Nawáb Wazír were alone together, he said to him: "Ever since the Brahman came I have been perplexed about his secret." The Nawáb Wazír replied: "They are my brothers and they have sent for me." The one could not venture to ask any more and the other would deign to offer no further explanation.* If this story be true, it is a wonder who Ásafu'ddaulah can really have been with all the despicable qualities which he showed during the twenty-three years of his rule.

* Here follows a silly speculation as to whether there are such folk as these four ascetics and a homily as to our limited knowledge of God's creation.

There is a proof that there is some truth in the story. He was certain that he was going to die. Though the Begam and his courtiers and physicians entreated him, he would take no medicines and he would not regulate his diet, for he considered everything useless. If this be not true, the writer will be punished.*

In the month of Šafar he began to suffer with dropsy, and the Bahu Begam came to Lucknow in great distress to see him. He was very firm and never expressed any fear of death or regret for life. If any of his servants happened to express sympathies for his sufferings, he grew angry and ordered him away. If Tafazzul Husen Khán, the minister, or the English Resident at Lucknow, inquired after his health, he said that he was quite well, and he talked as loudly and freely as he did when he had been in perfect health. Yet it is a hard struggle when one is face to face with the Angel of Death.† Prophets, even though they know the issue beforehand, lose heart.

When Plato wept with breaking heart,

"Why weepest thou?" they said.

"No tear," quoth he, "by human eye

"But for some cause is shed."

"So long my body and my soul

"Have lived with single heart,

"I weep to think the day will come

"When friends so true must part."

NIZÁMI GANJAVI

When I bethink me I must leave

Some day this garden fair,

I tremble like a naked form

Touched by the winter air.

*Al'ibratu ala'lrávi.

†Izra'íl. I omit a story about Adam.

Yet blame me not the thought of death
Should cause me such distress,
For now of life I realize
The utter pricelessness.

No patriarch for all his days
But felt his courage fail :
Can I then hope the foe to face
And not with tremor quail ?

Be there the man will dare to say
"I do not fear to die ;"
E'en though he drew Messiah's breath,
I call his words a lie.

What though his lips indeed should feign
To sing the roundelay,
The sighs that from his bosom rise
A stricken heart betray.

NÁZIM HIRÁTI.

Notwithstanding all his firmness, when the Begam came to see him and her maternal tears began to flow, he too burst into tears, and, as long as the two were together, they did nothing but weep. On the 28th Rabí'u'lrawwal 1212 A.H. [1797 A.D.] his spirit fled to the other world.

Praised be God, no one can ask him the why or wherefore of his actions. I remember when the Nawáb Begam died, Muharram 'Ali Khán Názir and Maṭbá' 'Ali Khán were arrested and called upon to produce her property. About that time Jawáhir 'Ali Khán took from the Begam to Ásafu'ddaulah, who was at Lucknow, the complimentary robe which it was usual to present on his birthday. Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah said to Jawáhir 'Ali Khán: "As there was no account of income and expenditure kept at my grandmother's, her eunuchs have got into trouble. I hear that proper accounts are

"not kept at my mother's: you will get into similar trouble some day. Take care and have the accounts straight from the very beginning." "Very well," said Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, who became much alarmed. While he lived he was beset by this fear. By the will of God Asafu'ddaulah died before him, a year and some months after this conversation, and the Bahu Begam carried off a great part of the Nawáb's property, elephants, tents, animals, such as blue antelope, wild buffaloes, and milch-cows, which she selected from his stock, and she lived twenty years after her son's death.

Wazír 'Ali, Nawáb Asafu'ddaulah's adopted son, succeeded him, but was, owing to his evil habits, imprisoned after four months. The Company then sent word to the Bahu Begam, asking her to state what her wishes were, as they would carry them out. To this she replied that, although Asafu'ddaulah had taken possession of certain estates which had been her property from the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah, she had said nothing, as he was her son, but now she wished that they might be restored. Accordingly Tándah and the Nawábganj which lies on the north of the Gbágra, and the rights of cattle-branding in the súbah, and Isma'ilganj, which is near Yahiyá-ganj in the city of Lucknow, and the towns of Unám and Wazírganj, were assessed at their annual value, and instead of them were assigned to the Begam the Chaklas of Haveli Awad, Rámpur, and Nauráhi. Another point which the Begam pressed was that the pensions of the women left by Shujá'u'ddaulah's inferior wives and Burhánu'lmuik's chief wife, and their family dependents, were fixed in cash and were realized with the utmost difficulty, so that they were in great straits: and she asked for the Gondah mahál that she might have it,

so that she should be able to pay these persons monthly. This too was granted to her. She returned to Faiz-ábád, when these negotiations had been completed, after an absence of one year and seven months, but she left under a feeling of resentment against Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah Sa'ádat 'Ali Khán.

The reason of her estrangement from the Nawáb was this. When the Begam went to Lucknow, forty dishes were sent to her in the morning and the same number in the evening, from Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah's kitchen. As the Begam used to eat but one meal in the day, and that was at noon, and these meals were a variety of delicacies, her slave-girls and handmaids used to eat them. Maulavi Fazl 'Azím Khán represented to the Nawáb Wazír that four hundred rupees were daily spent on these dishes, that the Begam did not touch them and all was lost on her, while he was at great pains and trouble. It was then proposed through Jawáhir 'Ali Khán that, if the Begam would be satisfied, four hundred rupees would be handed over daily from the Nawáb's kitchen account, and they should cook what they pleased in the Begam's kitchen. In accordance with this plan, for the two months that Ásafu'ddaulah was ill and the four months that Wazír 'Ali was on the throne, and one month under Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah, four hundred rupees were daily disbursed. The Maulavi sent this amount every morning. The day that Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah was invested by the Begam with the robe of office, he laid his head at her feet and asked her to place his turban on his head as a blessing, and he promised to show her such reverence that she would absolutely forget his half-brother Ásafu'ddaulah. After a month had passed, when he

inspected the accounts of his household expenditure and signed orders for increase or reduction in various departments, he drew his pen through these four hundred rupees and allowed only two hundred. This act greatly displeased the Begam and she said: "My son is very mean. In the first place, all this wealth comes from Shujá'u'ddaulah and then from Ásafu'ddaulah, and it is really mine. In the next place, I am only a guest for a few days at Lucknow. I will soon return to Faizábád: and if ten or twenty thousand rupees of Shujá'u'ddaulah's savings were spent on my followers, what great loss would there be?" She then grew silent. The case, however, stood exactly as she put it. Where laks were being spent, it was utterly unbecoming a prince to practice economy on the Bahu Begam for those few days.

A second cause of her dissatisfaction was this. The Gúm̄ti rose, owing to excessive rain, and caused a flood. This inundation was so great that several steps of the Burj Tilá,i were covered with water, and the buildings occupied by the eunuchs, and the cookhouse, which were thatched, were swept away. For this reason they moved into the Pachpauliya, and the lower part of it was used as the Begam's cookhouse and thatched sheds were erected there. As the powder-magazine was close by, Mír Nişár 'Ali, the superintendent of the Begam's cooking establishment, was asked to remove these thatches and take his fires to a distance. The Begam heard this and flew into a rage, and sent Dáráb 'Ali Khán to tell Jawáhir 'Ali Khán to go at once and report the matter to Mr. Lumsden, how they had grown so bold as to want to remove her cooks from a building built by Ásafu'ddaulah. It was sunset and

the Khán was engaged in prayer. I was ordered to make this report to the Resident through Ghulám Qádir Khán of Jáis, the Residency Munshi. I went the moment I was ordered and what followed was the result. The cookhouse was maintained where it stood.

A third cause of ill-feeling was this. Shujá'u'ddaulah had so high a regard for the Begam that no one dared venture to mention to her the names of his inferior wives or the name of any of his sons except Ásafu'ddaulah. After the Nawáb's death they gradually made her acquaintance, and Yamínu'ddaulah and Mírza Jangali were sometimes admitted to see her. After the lapse of very many years the inferior wives addressed her and said that they were like her slave-girls, that it was fair they should be hidden from her while Shujá'u'ddaulah lived; but they now begged that when she went out to take an airing in the gardens, she would permit them to attend on her. In accordance with their request, she gave an order that they should procure hired bullock coaches from the bázár and accompany her. They went out with her in this fashion and they used to stand in her presence. The rule was that they should not sit down: only such as were persons of distinction were allowed to take a seat, and that behind her. That was all the consideration shown to them. When Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah became ruler he invited his mother to Lucknow, and she used to ride out in front of the Burj Tiláji, where the Bahu Begam was living, in the same splendour as the Begam herself, in a sedan chair, with drums carried and beaten on horses and camels. This was even more annoying than the other circumstances to the Bahu Begam, and she was

enraged beyond measure. She forbid the procession to pass that way.

"These three circumstances gave the Begam great annoyance and she was driven to sending for Mr. Lumsden, and when he came she went in her sedan chair down to the Burj Tilá,i to meet him. She admitted no one else but Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. She spoke for herself and used no medium, and said: "Ásafu'ddaulah "was my own son and was my heir. He died during "my lifetime, and I have no legal heir left according "to Muhammadan law. God has given me money, "jewels, clothes, vessels, furniture, and other property, "the finest that all parts can yield. As long as I live, "I am mistress of what I have. I make all over to "the Company after my death, on condition that from "the profits of my estate they shall pay my dependents "from generation to generation the monthly allowances "I fix; and I request you to write and inform the "Council in London of this fact." The Resident left and reported this at once to the Council. This occurrence greatly displeased Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah. He sent for Dáráb 'Ali Khán and told him to tell the Bahu Begam that he was extremely ashamed of this unusual proceeding: no stranger had ever heard her voice as long as his father or his half-brother were living, and he would like to know what extraordinary emergency had now arisen that she talked to a stranger, an Englishman, with her own lips and not through another person. The Bahu Begam sent him a reply to the effect that it was his accession had driven her to this step, and she did not know how often it might be necessary to act in the same way again: that he had been constantly talking to the English night and day,

and it was no business of his if she spoke to an Englishman about her own affairs: that she was her own mistress and he had nothing to say to her.

In short, in the month of Shawwál 1213 A.H. [1799 A.D.] the Bahu Begam bid farewell to Lucknow and returned to Faizábád and lived there in peace and ease.

Jawábir 'Ali Khán, when in Lucknow, obtained from Hasan Razá Khán the land occupied by the Nawáb's former cookhouse. Hasan Razá Khán held it. It stood in front of Jawábir 'Ali's house and he had coveted it for a long time, for he wished to obtain the land that he might build a set of outoffices and erect a long, broad, and lofty gate with a number of other buildings attached. He got this land and built all that he wanted under the superintendence of Mirza Imámi, the master of his stud. When he returned to Faizábád, as Chakla Gondah and Chakla Haveli Awadh Khássa had fallen to him to manage, he entertained more horse and foot than before. He lived seven months and a few days more to enjoy this show, and on the 15th Jamádi, ussání 1214 A.H. [1799 A.D.] he died. He was wearing a tight shoe, and he contracted a sore on the right foot, near the big toe. It grew worse daily and no ointment could cure it. He said: "I am at Thy door," and fled to the other world.

Seven days later the Bahu Begam conferred on Dáráb 'Ali Khán the office of general agent, and gave him an elephant and a curtained palankeen and so on, all that Emperors give to Haft-Hazáris. He in turn conferred robes on all the military officers and heads of offices at the Begam's palace gate according to their

rank and importance. Nearly five hundred employes were discharged by him by the Bahu Begam's order, and the pay of some others was reduced. He raised a new, long, broad, and lofty Imámbára of brick, instead of the old wooden structure built by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. Although Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house was a magnificent building, he built a fine new addition in English style behind it. He built it because it is usual with nobles to avoid a place in which any one has died. He intended that the Bahu Begam should sometimes come and occupy it for change of air.

Nawáb Burhánu'l-mulk had two full sisters. One bore two sons, Mírza Muhsin and Mírza Muqím: the other was mother of Mírza Muhammad Yúsuf and Naşíru'ddín Haidar Khán. The Nawáb gave his daughter Hinga Begam in marriage to Naşíru'ddín Haidar Khán, and the fruit of this marriage was a daughter, Sító Begam, who was married to Mírza Muhammad Amín, son of Mírza Yúsuf, and had by him four sons and one daughter. The sons were Mírza Naşír, the eldest, Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán second, Mírza Bhajju third, and Mírza Abbu fourth. Mírza Muhammad Naşír was married to a Begam, the daughter of 'Áshúran, an adopted child of the Nawáb Begam's: and Muhammad Taqí Khán to Luţfu'nnisá, an adopted child of the Bahu Begam's. As the Bahu Begam was very anxious to provide for the last-named couple, she procured a written assignment from Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah of three thousand rupees a month for them. When the Gondah mahál was transferred to the Begam while at Lucknow, Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán asked Jawáhir 'Ali Khán

to assign him the management of that mahál, that he might be able to pay his own establishment himself direct from it. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán laid the request before the Begam, and she refused to grant it, saying that he was a spendthrift, that he would spend the whole year's income in a brief space, and then she would have to make good the pay of all recipients of monthly salaries from her own pocket. Jawáhir 'Ali Khán then said to the Begam that Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán would give him no rest, and that he advised her to appoint Dáráb 'Ali Khán chief of the police of the Gondah mahál. This she did. This step caused Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán so much vexation that he left Faizábád and went to reside in the Qadam Sharíf at Lucknow, and determined to go to the Dakhin. Husen 'Ali, one of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's novices, was employed as a peacemaker, and it was stipulated that the Begam should add a thousand rupees a month to the three thousand Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán already enjoyed, and that he should not again aspire to hold a post of service in any mahál or seek further increase of allowance. The Mírza gave a written engagement to this effect, and he remained silent on the subject as long as Jawáhir 'Ali Khán lived.

The Begam had a higher regard for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán than for a son, and the ceremony observed at the palace door was as great as it had been in Shujá'u'd-daulah's days. When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán fell ill with that illness which proved fatal in nineteen days, his ailment was at first such as to excite no alarm. It was merely the abrasion of a piece of skin, the size of a finger nail, by a tight shoe. The physicians of the household dared not speak even to one of the slave-girls

or maidservants, or smoke at the palace gate. They say that Masih, a surgeon, who had been for a long time in the Begam's service, but was now in a conspiracy with some persons, aggravated the injury and the physicians colluded with him. They wanted to remove Jawahir 'Ali Khan, who was a thorn in their side, that they might be free to act as they liked and be unrestrained in their intercourse. Others wished for his death, believing that there was no one to take his place, and that they would obtain administrative offices and be able to misappropriate money as well as draw their salaries, and that there would be no one to overhaul their accounts. The Bahu Begam was a sharp woman, had witnessed the changes of fortune from the days of Bahadur Shah to Shah 'Alam and understood the intrigues of Shahjahanabad, discerned the hearts of the younger branches of her family, and so drove Masih from her palace and imprisoned another surgeon whom they had brought from Lucknow.

Jawahir 'Ali Khan had during his lifetime appointed Hasan 'Ali Chela to the head of his private treasury and other offices and placed him in charge of Salan. He had made Hasan 'Ali Ghulam chief of the police of Haveli Awadh. Darab 'Ali Khan had on his recommendation been entrusted with the Gondah mahal. But Husen 'Ali, who was shortsighted and haughty, was on such bad terms with Darab 'Ali Khan that not only would he not speak to him but he would not even salute him. He was so intoxicated with pride that he would bow to no one. When they were burying Jawahir 'Ali Khan in the Imambara and his body had not even been laid in the grave, and everyone, great and small, was gathered, all the servants were sitting round

Husen 'Ali, while Dáráb 'Ali Khán was sitting by himself further off. The Bahu Begam was sitting in Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's house, shut off by a screen. The domestic servants came up to the curtain and asked Mián Sa'adat, the eunuch in attendance, to inquire what was the Begam's order as to where they were to go and to whom they were to look. She ordered them to go and place themselves at Dáráb 'Ali Khán's disposal. They came in tears to him and told him. He was himself sitting crying, and he wept the harder now. All the people who had been sitting in a circle round Husen 'Ali now left him, turned their backs on him, and faced Dáráb 'Ali Khán. Husen 'Ali was left alone and soon after got up and went to his own house, where he indulged in laments. To come to the point, Dáráb 'Ali Khán was invested with the office of general agent to the Begam the seventh day after Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's death, and all the principal men who had from their hearts wished for Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's death for their own gain and profit, were disappointed. Aghá Muḥammad Taqí Khán now said to the Begam that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán had been her agent from the time of Shujá'u'ddaulah, and was a man of great influence and trustworthy, and it was quite right that she had allowed him no authority as long as he was alive: but that, now he was dead, it would be doing him a great honour if she made him her administrator for Haveli Awadh and Pachhimrát: that his rank was not inferior to Dáráb 'Ali Khán's, but, on the contrary, he was in the position of a son, while Dáráb 'Ali Khán was a slave. The Begam told him that she had added a thousand rupees to his income only a year before, and that she had his written promise that he would never again aspire to

a mahál; that his wish could not and never would be granted. When he heard this answer he left and went off in the direction of Banáras. The Begam sent two men after him to watch where he went to and note what he did. He drove the two men away and went on. The return of the messengers exasperated the Begam and she ceased her inquiries for him. He gained nothing at Banáras, and he had not any funds to proceed further. His companions deserted him: only a few remained with him. He then went in the utmost distress to Kálpi, where 'Ali Bahádur Marhata's camp was pitched, and obtained an interview with him. This general's tents stood on a plain. The sun was fierce and the dust was flying. The troops were employed in rapid daily excursions, looting villages and overrunning newly-acquired territory. The Ághá was a delicate man who had lived all his life inside cooling screens, dressed in muslins and cambrics, and fed on dainty dishes of all sorts. He could not endure toils and hardships. Although the general received him with attention and sent him money as a guest on the day of his arrival, this was not what he wanted. Rája Himmat Bahádur Gosháín, who had from his boyhood existed on the bounty of Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah, was then with 'Ali Bahádur and had the command of two or three thousand cavalry. Remembering what he owed to the Nawáb's family, he began to admonish the Ághá and said: "You are spurning Paradise and its blessings and turning your back on them. You will never enjoy such ease as you do with the Begam. Since I severed my connection with her family, I have not seen one happy day. It is best that I should send a letter on your behalf to the Begam, and

“possibly she will for my sake, as an old servant of the family, send some one to bring you back to her; If she do, go back at once.” The Rájá wrote to the Bāhu Begam, stating that out of regard for her as his old mistress, he had prevented the Ághá from wandering to Puna and Haidarábád, and he hoped she would send some one to bring him back. The Begam sent Mír Nişár ‘Ali, Bahár ‘Ali Khán’s brother, to bring the Ághá to her on the express understanding that he should never get any increase of his monthly allowance. The Mír went and delivered the Begam’s message to the Ághá, who breathed once more. When he was setting out on his return he obtained through Himmat Bahádur’s influence, merely for the sake of show and to create an impression, a sham patent for a jágir yielding a lak of rupees under the seal of ‘Ali Bahádur. On his journey home he passed through Salon, a mahál in the Begam’s jágir, and interviewed Husen ‘Ali Chelá, who resided there as local agent. It was agreed between them that the Ághá should proceed in advance to Faizábád and Husen ‘Ali Chelá should come there on the anniversary of Shujá’u’d-daulah’s death with picked men and secrete them in the shops of the Guláb Bári market. On the evening of the Fátihá, when there was sure to be a crowd and Dáráb ‘Ali would come to join the assembly of mourners, Husen ‘Ali’s men were to discharge their muskets from both sides. In the great crowd and tumult no one would know who had fired, and if one of them hit Dáráb ‘Ali he would be killed: no one would even know who had prompted the attack, and thus they would enjoy a practical joke as well as gain their object without being found out.

A darwesh, named Muhammad 'Ali Sháh, who was a disciple of Sháh Muhammad Kázim, lived at my house and knew Mír Nisár 'Ali. Mír Nisár 'Ali took the darwesh with him as a travelling companion when he went to the Aghá. The darwesh, when he returned to Faizábád, told me the whole conspiracy which had been entered into at Salon. I took him with me and made him tell the story to Dáráb 'Ali Khán. Five or six days before the anniversary Dáráb 'Ali Khán was attacked by a slight fever, from which he quickly recovered, but it left him weak and without appetite. Husen 'Ali Chelá came to Faizábád on the anniversary without Dáráb 'Ali Khán's permission, bringing three hundred picked men, and lodged them, as had been planned, in the shops of the Guláb Bári, which were then unoccupied. Aghá Muhammad Taqí Khán, who had arrived from Kálpi two or three days before, called on the Begam, but dropped all acquaintance with Dáráb 'Ali Khán and ceased even to salute him, although there had never been the least disagreement or mutual complaint between them. Indeed, if Aghá Muhammad Taqí had any grudge against any one, it was not against Dáráb 'Ali Khán, with whom he had never had anything to do, but against the Begam, who had refused to make him an officer of police. It was solely from jealousy that he showed himself hostile to Dáráb 'Ali Khán.

Husen 'Ali was sitting in his house awaiting the arrival of Dáráb 'Ali Khán. The latter sent ten or fifteen of us on ahead to tell the caretaker of the Guláb Bári to await his arrival, to begin the recital of the dargés, and reserve the reading of the history of the martyrdom until he was present. Suddenly clouds came

up, a cold wind blew and drops of rain began to fall. The Bahu Begam now forbid Dáráb 'Ali to go to the Guláb Bári, saying he had not yet recovered his strength, and he might catch cold and suffer a relapse. He sent word to us then that the Begam would not allow him to come, and we were to carry through the whole ceremony without him. Thus his enemies were foiled.

Next day they resolved to kill Dáráb 'Ali Khán at the Begam's gate, and said to themselves that the Begam had no one who could touch them, that she would have eventually to forgive them, and would appoint Ághá Muhammad Taqí Khán her general agent, and he would appoint Husen 'Ali as his deputy: the latter would pay in the collections and the former would be undisputed master. Husen 'Ali had brought three hundred picked revenue police with him, whom he reckoned the bravest of the brave. The Ághá had four hundred sepoy, about twenty of whom were fops, close shaven, with gold earrings, big shields on their backs, Afghán swords at their waists, iron helmets on their heads, and loaded carbines and some sixty or seventy rounds of ammunition, who thought they could do anything; and one hundred Bundelas, newly recruited from Kálpi; and one hundred red-coated regulars; and besides them he had a Hindú, known as the Chaube, a famous wrestler and a braggart. On these he relied. He fancied himself the bravest and stoutest fellow of the day as compared with Dáráb 'Ali Khán, who was weak and decrepit, as it were an elephant against a gnat, and he prepared to tackle him with all this preparation. The pretext for a quarrel was this. Husen 'Ali had brought four thousand and eighty rupees with

him, which he had collected in the *jágír*, and he would not give the money to Dáráb 'Ali Khán. He wished to pay it into the Begam's treasury through the Ághá. Dáráb 'Ali contended that, as the Begam had made him her general agent, Husen 'Ali was his subordinate and had no relations with the Ághá. The more Dáráb 'Ali pressed him to pay in, the more stoutly he refused. The Ághá came every morning with all his armed following and seated himself at the Begam's gate and talked in a threatening fashion. Ten or twelve of us, who were friends of Dáráb 'Ali Khán, broke our usual custom and accompanied his palankeen to the Begam's door and watched all that went on. One day at last Dáráb 'Ali was compelled to mention the fact to the Bahu Begam, how Husen 'Ali would not pay in the collections, and he asked her to send for him and call on him to explain his insubordination. When it was three o'clock some bailiffs came for him. He sent to the Ághá and informed him of this. The Ághá came to his house, whispered something to him, and then returned to the gate before he came there. Husen 'Ali went after him and they had then between them seven hundred men ready armed on the spot. The verandah at the gate, where we ten or twelve friends of Dáráb 'Ali were sitting, was darkened by the crowd. Suddenly a eunuch came out from the Begam and asked Husen 'Ali why he had not paid over to Dáráb 'Ali the collections he had brought. He replied that, if the Begam wanted the money, it was hers and he would pay it over through the Ághá. The Begam sent out again to say that, as Dáráb 'Ali was her general agent and she had made him subordinate to him, he had nothing to do with the Ághá. Before Husen 'Ali could

reply, the Ághá struck in : " True: it is a money matter. " If Dáráb will not do, here am I." The eunuch, noticing the state of things at the gate, the preparations of the Ághá and Husen 'Ali for a fight, and the union of their sepoys, and how they had come up to the very door contrary to all precedent and etiquette, went in and told the Begam. She then, in the hope of preventing a riot, sent out word that Husen 'Ali was to go home, for she was unwell, and to return next day. The ill-mannered and proud fellow said out to the eunuch : " Why did she send for me when she was like this? " He then added : " Let the Begam send for me and see me " and hear from my own lips what I have to say : " and he used Hindi words which the low people of the bázár use among themselves, saying : " Do do phiṭ ká " ghulám bashináwand."* The Begam heard the words and burned with rage. She said to Dáráb 'Ali : " Why " don't you beat him with a shoe? " Dáráb 'Ali replied that, as she had ordered him to do so, he would do it next day. " They are now bent on mischief," said the Begam : " go home by some other route." " I will return the way I came," he replied : " if I took another " road, it would be as good as flying from them. As " long as God and Your Excellency are with me, what " can they dare to do? If I am fated to die now and " my day has come, I will die somehow or other." Meanwhile outside on the road they had resolved to kill him with a sword the moment he came out, and it was not likely that they would let us rise whom they had closed in. The moment the eunuch came out and called for the palankeen, the bearers brought it up to the

* This is as if he had said : " What do I care for her beggarly slaves ? "

gate. Dáráb 'Ali Khán came out with a tiny sword. Astonishing to relate, the whole crowd, leaders and all, remained with eyes on the ground and dared not look up. We rose, gathered round the palankeen, issued from the crowd, and went on till we reached our company of regulars, who were standing outside another door. The company formed up in front and rear and on both sides of the palankeen and marched. Dáráb 'Ali Khán smiled and said: "They could have done anything they liked. The bird is out of the cage and they won't catch him again. They are done for now." I went home and said my evening prayers, returning immediately to the darbár, where I quoted the words:—

Though blows be showered on me thick as rain,
Till God decree my death, I safe remain.

But Dáráb 'Ali was praying alone with the utmost unconcern. There was one irregular in black uniform at each door. I said that this was carelessness: ten men could come in if they wished. "When I emerged alone," said Dáráb 'Ali, "from among seven hundred men and they did not move an inch, what can happen now? Don't be afraid. My enemies cannot touch a hair of mine."

The contemptible Husen 'Ali returned unadvisedly to his own house and sat there with two friends. He posted forty armed men on whom he relied, whom he called his body-guard, between his inner and outer doors to guard him, divided them into groups of five and placed them some paces apart from each other, and warned them even if an angel came they were to blow his wings off with their guns. He felt secure and went in with Mír 'Ashúri, his friend, confidant,

and adviser, to the apartments where there resided a courtesan whom he had made his wife, and there they began to enjoy themselves.

Meanwhile Dáráb 'Ali Khán sent quietly for Shekh Sa'dullah Risáladár, who had four hundred infantry and fifty cavalry, and was wrongly suspected of a secret understanding with Ághá Muhammad Taqí, and told him that the Begam had sent him an order: if he would carry it out, well and good, and if not, another would be found who would. "I am ready," was his reply. "Then arrest Husen 'Ali at once," said Dáráb 'Ali. The Risáladár went home, placed a company of irregulars under arms, and picked out forty of his own infantry and cavalry on whom he could rely. He took them with him to Husen 'Ali Khán's house in a great hurry and pretended to be excited. There were three doors to the house. He placed his men at two doors. When he appeared at the third door, the guards forbid him to enter. He had always been on friendly terms with Husen 'Ali, and he said to the guard that Husen 'Ali had sent for him, as he wanted to arrest a tenant at Salon, and wished to send him there during the night. The fool subsided into silence and admitted him. He chained the door of the women's quarters behind him, when he had entered, and shouted. Husen 'Ali, remembering the order he had given, rose in astonishment, wondering how any one had got in. He came out with his sword and shield and saw a large body of men in black uniform, fully armed, before him. He asked what this meant. Shekh Sa'dullah said: "Deliver to me your sword and shield. The Begam has ordered me to arrest you."

I sent word to the sepoys whom he had lodged in the Guláb Bári, telling them that Husen 'Ali had been dismissed, and that, if they wished for further employment, they should come to Dáráb 'Ali, or else leave for their homes in the morning. They came over at once, and Shekh Sa'dullah brought Husen 'Ali with Mír 'Ashúri and his wife, and confined them in a detached house on Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's premises. A handful of irregulars mounted guard over them and the number of men who now joined Dáráb 'Ali was about four hundred. By this time it was a couple of hours after sundown, and the Ághá was sitting at the Begam's door conversing with her about Husen 'Ali, when suddenly he heard that Husen 'Ali had been arrested. He rose and left.

Dáráb 'Ali and his party were standing at one side of the abutment outside the door of the Imámbára, and he ordered the lights to be lit. The servants lit several candelabra, and he sent a message to the Ághá, saying that he had heard the Ághá wished to come to him, but he advised him not to come to him, for his troops were not then under control. The Ághá, when he received this message, went to his own house, where he spent the whole night in the utmost distress for Husen 'Ali. The best of it is that the Begam, though grieving all the while for the Ághá's repeated breaches of faith, sent a favourite female servant of hers, Sidh Bachan, to him and told him that, if so and so attacked him, he would be sure to kill him without regard. What the Begam meant was this, that Dáráb 'Ali had the people and the troops at his back, while the Ághá had but few followers, and yet in the face of that the Ághá was bragging of his bravery and was time after time making

demands contrary to his promises; so possibly his followers would suffer at the hands of Dáráb 'Ali Khán's party, and his pride would have a fall. The woman came twice in one watch to impress this warning on him and he spent a restless night.

Next morning at sunrise the Aghá went to the Begam's gate and addressed her through her eunuchs, saying that Dáráb 'Ali had made Husen 'Ali prisoner, and that he and Husen 'Ali had entered into a solemn compact to protect one another, and he begged the Begam to order Dáráb 'Ali to release him, saying that, if she did not, he would die for him. The Begam said that Husen 'Ali was her slave, and that she had made him subordinate to Dáráb 'Ali; that the Aghá had no ground for interfering or endangering himself; that she would not release Husen 'Ali till he had paid up the money; and Dáráb 'Ali had power to imprison or to release him and would do as he pleased.

By nine o'clock in the morning one thousand four hundred men had come together, and the courtyard of the house and the out-offices and the roof were crowded with sepoys. There were also four hundred troops, foot and mounted, with a gun posted in front of the door of the Imámbára. Dáráb 'Ali then closed the door of his house and the Imámbára, and shut himself in and said: "Let no one stir or try to provoke any one, for I do not want a fight, and am only sitting by myself in my house." When it was past noon and they had eaten, Dáráb 'Ali Khán sent a message to Husen 'Ali, reminding him that they were comrades in the Begam's service, that he had nothing to do with others, and asking him to accept

a robe of honour, pay in the money, and go back to the maháls. Both of them were now playing a double game. Husen 'Ali wanted to soften Dáráb 'Ali, obtain his release for a time on the pretence of bringing the money, take refuge in the Ághá's house, and escape from Dáráb 'Ali's clutches for ever. Dáráb 'Ali Khán wished to draw the money out of Husen 'Ali on pretence of giving him a fine dress, and then imprison him for life and never let him see the light of day again. Dáráb 'Ali sent him a robe seven or eight times successively, but as he had been in the habit of receiving superior dresses from Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, he would not accept any. Each time he sent him a different present but of exactly equal value to the one before, but after a delay. As soon as Husen 'Ali was thus convinced that he was being treated kindly, Dáráb 'Ali sent him a messenger to say that, as they had both been brought up in the same place and in the same house, there should be no collusion between him and the Ághá, and that their coalition had offended the Begam: and to tell him that it would be most advisable if he wrote a letter under his own seal to the Ághá to say that he had made up his quarrel with Dáráb 'Ali, that they were mutually satisfied, and that the Ághá should withdraw from further opposition. The moment Husen 'Ali received this message he wrote the required letter and handed it to the messenger. Dáráb 'Ali sent the letter to the Bahu Begam, and she handed it to the Ághá, and told him that, as Husen 'Ali wrote in such terms, he had no reason for attempting to interfere in his affairs. The Ághá replied that Husen 'Ali had not written the letter of his free will, that he was in Dáráb 'Ali's custody, who was compelling him to write. He then rose in a passion and left, uttering

the most unbecoming language in loud tones, and went away with his followers to fight. He said to himself that those who were with Dáráb 'Ali Khán were really the Begam's servants, and that they all had a pre-existing higher regard for him, and not one of them would venture to fight with him; that the moment he advanced against them they would all submit to him; and under these circumstances the Chaube wrestler would lift the gun that was in front of the Imámbára in his arms and throw it on the ground; that he would then enter the house and rescue Husen 'Ali. He placed some of his strong men in front, and marched with the regulars and Bundelas behind them. Mírza Muhammad Naşır Khán, his elder brother, Mír Nişár 'Ali, Bahár 'Ali Khán's brother, and Mírza 'Ali and Mírza Ja'far, Hikmat Husen Khán's sons, who were at the gate, entreated him to pause, but he took no heed. He went past his own house and came face to face with Dáráb 'Ali Khán's force. The Maulána, who was looked on by the Aghá's men as a Rustam and the master of the fencing art, advanced, followed by some of his own sort, such as Saiyad Muşţafa, the Chaube and others. He knew that the gun was loaded, and thought that, when the gunner would apply the match to the pan, he would stoop his head to let the ball pass over, and then he would be so quick that he would prevent the gun being again loaded. Dáráb 'Ali Khán had fourteen hundred men under arms on the roof and on the ground awaiting this onset. There were also outside the door of Dáráb 'Ali's house Mírza Hasan 'Ali, the chief police officer of Awadh, and Husen Khán, Afghán, with two companies of regulars, Mírza Faiz 'Ali Beg, son of Haidar 'Ali, an old friend of Jawáhir 'Ali

Khán, with two companies of irregulars, altogether six hundred men, and Sháh Báz Khán, Afghán, with fifty cavalry. The latter shouted: "For God's sake, "keep away; we are standing guarding our houses "and do not want to fight. Why molest us?" The Angel of Death had spread his wings over them and they heeded not. They advanced. Dáráb 'Ali Khán had shut the door of his house and the Imámbára, and was busy sending a present to Husen 'Ali. He was wholly ignorant of the bold advance, when suddenly Muhammad 'Áqil, one of his messengers, came in by the small door in the gate and shouted: "Why are "you sitting quiet, sir? The enemy is here." Dáráb 'Ali rose and came with two hundred companions and picked sepoy down to the courtyard of the Imámbára below the terrace of the building. He looked round and told those who were guarding Husen 'Ali not to mind the fight, but, if Husen 'Ali tried to escape during the confusion, they were to kill him and his companions at once. The guard then removed Husen 'Ali to the closet close by, which Jawábir 'Ali Khán had used, and placed him there. They chained the door on the outside and maintained their watch. Although Dáráb 'Ali Khán wanted to go out, those who were with him would not permit him. He had no other course left but to go up to the top of a bastion at the corner of his house and look on. When Maulána came close up to the gun and challenged the gunner to fire, the latter could not do so without an order from his officer, but, when he persistently defied him, the gunner discharged the cannon. It was loaded with shot. Maulána first jumped up with two wounds, then rolled over on the ground and died. Mír Mustáfa, the Chaube, and some

others were wounded, rolled over dead and dying into a ditch, which was covered with wild trees, and were caught in the branches. The other sepoys, when they saw this happen, turned and fled to the river. Shekh Sa'dullah's men stripped them of their arms and clothing and let them go naked. Some friends who were with the Aghá lifted him and carried him into his butler 'Abdurrahím's house, and shut themselves in. Though he kicked and struck out and said he would go and fight, he was one to five or six men and could not get away. Dáráb 'Ali Khán asked where he had gone. Some one said that he had gone off on a horse, no one knew where, across the ditch of the fort. The mounted men below were on the point of pursuing him, but Dáráb 'Ali checked them. An hour later it became known that he was in 'Abdurrahím's house. Then all became still. An English reporter, who had come to see the affray, and a woman, who had left her house to purchase food and was passing along the road, were accidentally killed.

The Aghá did not venture out of 'Abdurrahím's house for three months, and Dáráb 'Ali Khán kept the Imámbára closed and the gun pointed as it had been. The English officer,* who was in command at Sultánpur cantonment, came up speedily by the order of the Lucknow Resident to the Begam's aid with a regiment and two guns, and asked the Begam for instructions. She replied that it was only a quarrel among her own children and there was no stranger involved; that she could deal with them herself, and did not need the English to assist her. She sent him some trays,

* The name given is Banársi. I can make nothing of it.

bearing a present of rich fabrics, and permitted him to return. After the lapse of three months Mírza 'Ali, the Hakím's son, acted as peacemaker and procured a written promise from the Aghá to the effect that he would never commit such an offence again, and if he ever did, the Begam was to visit him with any punishment she pleased: but the Aghá said at the same time that he had committed so great an offence that he dared not ask for pardon, and if she would only come to him at the first inner door of her palace, his head would touch the stars. After a great deal of persuasion the Begam came to the door and she bid Dáráb 'Ali Khán and the Aghá embrace each other. This they did.

From the day that Jawáhir 'Ali Khán died, the 15th Jamádi, ussání, to the end of Zilhijh, a period of six and a half months, this quarrel lasted and it ended as described. About this period another element of disturbance arose. A young Afghán, named Latíf Khán, who lived in Awadh, began to evince a turbulent and headstrong temper. He interfered with defenceless citizens and travellers and prevented their passing along the roads. He had two or three comrades of his own type. The residents of Awadh and the Hindús of Faizábád, who used to go to Awadh to worship, were crying out against his oppression, and complaints reached Dáráb 'Ali Khán every day. One day there was a religious fair of the Hindús at Awadh, and Hindús and Muhammadans flocked there in thousands. Shekh Sa'dullah's son, Shekh 'Abdullah, was riding there with some sepoys. Latíf Khán was also riding about, Shekh 'Abdullah's spear happened to fall from his hand to the ground. Latíf Khán lifted it. Shekh 'Abdullah

said placidly to him: "Gentlemen do not pick quarrels for nothing. What made you lift my spear and take it? I had men with me: they could have lifted it and handed it to me?" Latíf Khán was accustomed to show himself violent and quarrelsome, and had never come into collision with a soldier. Though he saw that he was alone, and there were ten or twenty sepoy with Shekh 'Abdullah, he was led by his unbridled temper to forget himself and he quarrelled with Shekh 'Abdullah. A sign was given to a sepoy by the latter and he cut him down at a blow. The world was freed from his tyranny. Though he was not a servant of the Ághá's, he had occasionally called on him, drawn by the hope of place; and the Ághá now complained that the man who had been killed was his servant, but Dáráb 'Ali Khán silenced him.

Among the cavalry under Shekh Sa'dullah, entertained by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán, was a sepoy named Mír Sher 'Ali; and Sídí Sikandar was city police officer at Faizábád and had been appointed by Jawáhir 'Ali Khán. While in the cavalry, Sa'dullah had a war of words with Sídí Sikandar in the cause of a blacksmith, a servant of Dáráb 'Ali Khán's, who was in his company. From that day they were enemies, and when they met they did not salute each other. When Jawáhir 'Ali Khán died and Dáráb 'Ali Khán succeeded him, and the term of Sídí's appointment expired, Dáráb 'Ali on Shekh Sa'dullah's recommendation placed Sher 'Ali in charge of the city and attached police stations. He filled the office for some time, and it was again entrusted to Sídí. Then Sher 'Ali was installed once more. So the changes

The shopkeepers and residents of the city rise against the Kotwál's oppression.

between the two went on. On one occasion Mír Sher 'Alí made over the charge of the office to his younger brother as his deputy, and went out to the jágírs in search of employment as police officer of some mahál. His brother began to oppress the people in a most unusual way. Any day that no case likely to bring him in a gain of two or three rupees was brought to the police station, some informer employed at the place dragged up some child of ten or twelve years with his father, and the police officer declared that the boy did not resemble his father; his mother must have conceived in an intrigue with some one else, and this child was the progeny: an arbitrary fine must be levied. This was one of the least of his tyrannies. When the people were no longer able to endure him, two or three thousand men gathered in a body at Shujá'u'ddaulah's tomb inside the Guláb Bári and raised a shout of "*andher*," a Hindi word meaning darkness. This went on day and night for a whole week. All efforts to calm them were futile. I recommended that the corrupt police officer should be dismissed. I was given an order for his removal and removed him. Still the rioting was not quelled. At last Sa'dullah Khán, a captain of the Mewátis, thought of a plan, and he explained it: "The men who are gathered in the Guláb Bári are creating their disturbance there because they know that Shujá'u'ddaulah and the Nawáb Begam are buried there, and they have taken refuge as it were with them. Another reason is that the tomb is within Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah's jurisdiction, and Dáráb 'Alí Khán's men cannot go there to arrest them. So they coolly bring from their houses, after satisfying their necessities, their pipes and tobacco, talk, laugh,

“joke, and plot together and enjoy themselves: and
“they shout out the Hindi word two or three times.
“Though clever and trustworthy men have been sent
“to induce them to disperse, they are influenced by the
“instigations of some jealous people and will not listen,
“but fancy themselves masters of the situation. Their
“houses are all within the Begam's jurisdiction.* They
“go home every morning and evening, attend to their
“wants, and go back again. A certain two or three
“among them are ringleaders. If some men be posted
“at their houses and their doors be thrown down and
“levelled to the ground, and the Begam give an order
“that they are not to be again permitted to enter their
“houses; and a few handfuls of irregulars be stationed
“in each lane and street where the Begam has jurisdic-
“tion, with orders to arrest every one who comes out
“of the Guláb Bári and tries to escape to his house,
“there will be an end to their display.” This course
was resolved on by night and they heard of it at once.
They were out of their wits with alarm and could think
of nothing to defeat the plan. As they were low
cowards, they came in helpless crowds to Dáráb ‘Ali
Khán in the morning, laid their heads at his feet and
begged in tears to be forgiven, saying that they had
been instigated by such and such a leading man, and
had come to this wretched plight without obtaining any
support from their abettors. The Khán reassured them,
sent them to their homes, and forgave them, saying:
“It is easy to return evil for evil, but he is a true man
“who returns good for evil.”

At the end of a week all was quiet and some time
afterwards Sikandar ‘Ali Khán was appointed manager
of Haveli Awadh and Pachhimrát. At the same time

a village of Pachhimrát, called Daulatpur, was entrusted to me at the request of the landholders, who had suffered severely at the hands of Mír Sher 'Ali, Sikandar's deputy, and had fled the village. I held charge of the village for three whole years. When, at the end of the three years, Sikandar 'Ali Khán's term of appointment ended, he was removed owing to the exertions of Nawáb Asghar 'Ali Khán, the Bahú Begam's brother's son. If the reasons of the Nawáb's exertions were recorded, they would fill a volume. Anyhow, those maháls were entrusted to Mírza Hasan 'Ali, a novice of Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's, and after a year Sikandar 'Ali Khán was invested with the office of Begam's agent-general for all the three estates and controller-general of her household.

As Daulatpur yielded my servants six hundred rupees over and above the demand made by the Begam, this caused heartburning among the officials of the Faizábád office. They tutored the villagers. When I went out to see the village, the villagers mobbed me. I had with me servants, torchbearers, writers, water-carriers, grooms, about twenty, but they could not face armed men. By the help of God, I held my ground with three others and did not fly before three hundred. I made "Hirz Yamáni" and "Nád 'Ali" my shield.* No one dared to attack me, though they were all armed. They kept me besieged for a whole night and a day. Dáráb 'Ali Khán had so high a regard for me that the moment he heard of this, he rode out as hard as he

* These are two Muhammadan prayers repeated in times of fear and trouble. They are known by the opening words, as Christians know, "O be joyful in the Lord all ye lands," by the title "Jubilare Deo," with which the psalm begins in Latin.

could to my relief. When they saw him going, the whole city down to the very shopkeepers followed him. There was quite a sea of men the whole way from Faizábád to the village, a distance of ten miles. The villagers fled like foxes the moment they heard the sound of the horses' hoofs, and hid wherever they could in trees and in ditches. I returned to Faizábád safe and sound.

The Ághá Sáhíb now determined to adopt Dáráb Ághá Muhammad 'Ali Khán as his brother, in accordance with the custom commonly practised among Shí'as, and to establish a real friendship. The Ághá mentioned the matter first to me in a casual way in the first ten days of Muharram, and then it was negotiated through Mír Kallú Fázil, and a day fixed for an entertainment. The Ághá gave a sumptuous feast and a dance. Dáráb 'Ali Khán returned this hospitality at the end of a week, and the Bahu Begam was prevailed on to visit his house immediately before this entertainment took place, and he did himself the honour of making various presents to her, and he caused all his servants to present nazrs to her. After the ceremony of adoption she returned to her palace, and the entertainment given to the Ághá Sáhíb began and it lasted until evening. The utmost unity and amity prevailed. They were in ecstasies with each other. In short, the foundations of friendship were laid, and a footing of unceremonial visiting was established: but there was no heart on either side at the back of all this show. The Bahu Begam even was not satisfied with this brother-making and warned Dáráb 'Ali Khán to be extremely cautious. On the seventh of Muharram it was Dáráb 'Ali Khán's practice to go to the

assembly of mourners and listen to *marṣiyas*, and he used to return after an hour and a-half or so to his house. While he sat there the Begam was always alarmed lest there should be some treachery perpetrated. This went on for years.

When the Begam expressed to Mr. Lumsden her intention of leaving all her wealth
 The negotiations between the Begam and Mr. Lumsden. to the Company, Mr. Lumsden wrote a report of this to Mr. John Shore, the Governor at Calcutta, and he sent a report to London. After some years a reply came from London to the effect that what she had said was only a verbal expression of her wishes, and that, if she would give a written instrument under her own seal, there would then be a valid ground on which to act. Mr. Baillie was then the Resident at Lucknow, and this reply came to his hands. He informed the Begam and she replied that all that Mr. Lumsden had written regarding her wishes was quite true. When this had been laid before the Council in London, there was a letter sent some three years later to Mr. Baillie, telling him to go to the Begam at Faizábád and obtain from her a will duly sealed, with a description of her property, money, jewels, and everything else, in detail of quantity and value, and a corresponding list of the monthly allowances she desired to bequeathe. Mr. Baillie came from Lucknow and sat on the one side of a *pardah*, while the Bahu Begam sat on the other and spoke to him direct, without the intervention of any third person, and told what she wished. There was no one admitted to the place where they sat but Dáráb 'Ali Khán. All that passed between them was so firmly settled that it will be as lasting as the English empire itself. The

Residency Munshi was called in as a fourth person to draw up the deeds between the two parties, and the Munshi was ordered not to breathe a word of what had passed to any one. As long as the Begam lived not a point was ever disclosed, although indeed so much was guessed that the Begam had made the English trustees of her whole estate, and had fixed monthly allowances for all her servants and dependents after her death, according to their grade and rank. Some of the eunuchs talked to their friends as if they knew everything, to create an impression that they were in the Begam's confidence, but they contradicted each other. When the Begam died and all was published, they were all found to have been utterly wrong. The fact was that she left three laks of rupees to build her tomb; one lak for pious observances in her memory; ten thousand rupees per annum for the maintenance of her tomb, Qurán readers, sweepers, gardeners, watchmen, drum-beaters and others; nine hundred rupees per mensem for the pay of guards to be maintained at her palace; and ninety-six laks of rupees, and gold and silver plate, and jewels and clothes, woollen fabrics, kamkhwábs, silks, and so on, of undetermined value, the price being merely guessed at. The reason for all this secrecy was that she found that Yamínu'ddaulah, who was a clever man, might, if he knew the contents, avail himself of his familiarity with the English to upset her arrangements. Yamínu'ddaulah was, however, little aware of the surprises of time.

Yamínu'ddaulah died one year and a half before the Bahá Begam, and Gházíuddín Haidar Khán, who succeeded his father, was far too large-minded a man to give himself any trouble about this transaction. Indeed,

his jealous regard for rank was so great that he buried the clothes of the Begam when she died, to prevent them falling under the eyes of strangers.

To resume, when Mr. Baillie had completed everything to the satisfaction of both parties, he returned to Lucknow. Some gentry of that city tried to discover the secret terms of this transaction and made great efforts to pick him, and even paid large sums to clever spies and entertained them to pry into the bureau, but not a hint of anything could be obtained. They had to admit that they were baffled.

When the administration of the Chaklá of Haveli

The history of Faiz-ábád closes.

Awadh and Faizábád City was vested in the Bahu Begam after Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah's death, the people of that chaklá and the city began to enjoy peace, ease, and freedom from oppression. In the time of that Nawáb there was a tahsildár to collect land revenue, a superintendent of nazúl, a police superintendent in the city, and a farmer of manorial dues, all having separate jurisdiction independent of each other, and each trying to enforce his individual power. Thus the subjects of the state lived in a demoralized condition. When this gave place to a single and consolidated power, and Dáráb 'Ali Khán, who was a just man, became the Begam's agent, though his representatives were sometimes so foolish as to attempt to tyrannize and led to complaints on the part of some of her subjects, yet he always summoned the parties to his presence, heard both sides, and extracted the truth and discarded the false. The Bahu Begam was tender of the life of a lamb even and would not suffer it to be killed, so what can be said of her regard for human life?

This venerable lady, the Bahu Begam, reached the age of eighty-six years. She declined in strength very gradually. She used each year to go to her nephew's house in the first ten days of Muharram to see the ta'ziya of Imám Husen, and return when she had recited the Fátíha. This year she prepared to go as usual, but the weather was exceedingly cold and a chill wind was blowing. Dáráb 'Ali Khán tried to prevent her and said that she could recite the Fátíha at her own residence, and that, if she went out, he feared the consequences to her might be dangerous. She replied that it was her habit to go and if she did not go the young people might be disappointed. She went, but caught cold when returning home, and a slight fever ensued, which made head daily. Her physicians treated her, but their efforts were unavailing. She knew the position she was in and said that her end was come. The day before she died she said that the Great Nawáb, meaning Shujá'u'ddaulah, had come to receive her. Dáráb 'Ali Khán was perplexed when he heard her say this, and he asked her what she was saying. She repeated her words. Next day, Thursday, the 26th Muharram, 1230 A.H. [1815 A.D.] at about two o'clock in the afternoon, she breathed her last amid the tears and cries of her aged and sorrowing servants.

This august lady of ladies, who had been in her childhood nursed in the arms of Muhammad Sháh, Emperor of Hindústán; who was married to Shujá'u'ddaulah, himself the wazír of the Empire and the son of a wazír; and who bore a son, Asafu'ddaulah, who enjoyed the dignity of wazír, passed the whole of her long and noble life in splendour and state, and saw not one day of reverse, though the family of the Delhi

Emperors sank into decay, and all the nobles and officers of the empire were ruined by the reverses of fortune and scattered in distress. The chiefs of the Bangash provinces were of no greater consideration compared to her than were her police officers, and in the whole household of Nawáb Asaf Jáh, Nizámu'l-mulk, Wakíl-i-Muṭlaq, there was not a woman left of so great distinction and rank, bearing and dignity: and no one woman in all the thirty-two súbahs of India can be held up in these days as her rival in either the grandeur of her surroundings or the respect she could command. When at the zenith of her glory she had ten thousand troops, horse and foot, scores of elephants, and countless horses. The people who earned their bread directly or indirectly through her bounty must have been more than a hundred thousand, and all felt as happy and secure as though they were in a mother's arms. If a British officer were passing through Faizábád, her orders were that the people of the city should render him assistance, and all that he needed her agents supplied.

Daráb 'Ali, who was her sole executor and had enjoyed her perfect confidence, carried her venerated corpse to the river, washed it, and laid her out for burial. She was borne with a respect and ceremony surpassing all the pomp and splendour that had ever attended any public appearance of hers in her lifetime, on the shoulders of the great and noble of Faizábád, from the river to the Jawáhir Bág, a distance of two miles; while the pious repeated the creed, counted their beads and sent up to heaven their cries, calling on the name of God: and round her bier walked servants, scattering silver and gold for the repose of her soul with a lavish

hand that enriched the needy and relieved the poor. This garden stands on the south of the Fort of Faiz-ábád near the breastwork of the fortified city wall. Jawáhir 'Alī Khán, the Begam's former názir, had laid it out himself at her request, and there were several buildings in it. In the middle was a bárahdari which he made, where the Begam was in the habit of sitting when she went out for pleasure, and she used to say that this was a marvellously lovely place and no spot seemed so delightful to her as this. She constantly made use of expressions such as these. It was generally thought that, when her time came, she would be buried beside Nawáb Shujá'u'ddaulah in the Guláb Bári, but when she set apart three laks of rupees to build herself a last resting place, it was found that she did not wish to be laid there, because that spot had been amply adorned with buildings and no addition seemed necessary. So Dáráb 'Alī Khán opened the earth in the bárahdari at the very spot where she used to sit, spread below her some sacred dust which had been brought from the Karbala by pilgrims and kept for long years in store for this occasion, and laid her on it to rest: and a thousand men sat all night long reading the sacred word till day dawned and the shadows fled.

Though lands and children, riches, pomp, and power
Thine to the margin of the grave should be,
Though friends upon thy bier their tears should shower,
None stays to share thy narrow home with thee.

• No more their feet with thee the path shall tread,
But all from thee their steps retracing part:
Be thou in dream or trance, alive or dead,
Howe'er thou art, henceforth alone thou art.

Discard thy scrannel pipe and hold thy breath,
And cut the clog that weights thy limping foot :

Where life thou holdest but in fee of Death,
To be or not to be, it is no boot.

The brave who braces heart to bear his woes
Needs double heart to bid the world adieu :

But he who living still the world foregoes,
Cuts off the fee of Death and lives anew.

Full many an iron frame of noblest mould
Earth hath devoured amid a nation's cries :

Bid, if thou wilt, the womb of earth unfold,
Nought but the dust of man shall greet thy eyes.

Where are Jamsbed, Farídún and Zuhák ?
What noble dust ! Below the sod they lie.

Men are but dust upon the flood. Alack !
The flood that quickens bears us but to die.

None ever heard the signal to depart
But hears some night the bell his summons toll.

If dust to dust return, why break thy heart ?
For of thy life save death there is no goal.

When all the ceremonies for the burial of the dead were over, Dáráb 'Ali Khán appointed Qurán-readers to sit at her grave, and all returned to their homes and bethought themselves of their own affairs, especially those upon whom the Begam had spent laks of rupees and whom she had cared for as if they had been her children. While she was yet alive they had said that they wished they might die before her and not live to see this fatal day; that, if they had the misfortune to survive her, they would resign the world and devote their lives to prayer, or go to the Sacred Tomb and return no more to India; but when she died, they lay down at their ease and slept, and when it was morning they went to the tomb as if mere strangers, repeated the Fátíha, and returned home. Not one of them was

seen to shed a tear and their only thought was of money and jewels, complaining that all her wealth and money should pass to the English, and cogitating how they could carry off something: but they could not lay hands on anything.

Akbar 'Ali Khán, the elder of the Begam's nephews, who had long been labouring under a fatal disease, died about this time. The younger, Aşghar 'Ali Khán, although he wept much, left his house, which he had built in splendid style, after a fortnight, and went to Lucknow. His relatives one after another followed him.

Mírza Muhammad Naşır Khán, the elder brother of Mírza Muhammad Taqí Khán, who had gone to Lucknow for sixteen days to bid Mr. Baillie good-bye, remained at Lucknow after the Begam's death. The Begam had greatly desired that Faizábád should continue to prosper after her death, and that her relatives and their descendants should continue to reside in that city, and her name be perpetuated. With a view to this she had entered a monthly stipend for each in the deed which she gave to the English: but her wish was not fulfilled.

On the evening of the second day after her death Ághá Muhammad Taqí Khán came to see Dáráb 'Ali Khán. I was present. The Ághá sat down in the chief seat, and two or three friends dropped in. Dáráb 'Ali Khán asked to be left alone with the Ághá and so the rest of us came down stairs. Dáráb 'Ali Khán produced the Begam's will and read it to the Ághá. When we went up again an hour later, we found the latter utterly dejected and out of heart. We did not

know why, but we thought that it was another matter which affected him: that his stipend was the largest and yet his son was authorized to draw the money, whereas we found out that his vexation was caused by finding from the perusal of the will that its provisions were wholly contrary to his expectations. He left after some hours and from this time he began to evince an estrangement from Dáráb 'Alī Khán and to speak of him in terms inconsistent with the brotherly relationship which he had established with him under the sanction of religious ties.

On the third day a company of British troops came from Sakrora, north of the Ghágra, and entered Faizábád to guard the property and treasure of the deceased: and here and there, where there was treasure and other moveable property, one or two guards of Company's troops were posted.

At this juncture another wholly unexpected event took place, one which was beyond calculation. The story is this.

In Shujá'u'ddaulab's time, there was a macebearer

Attack on Shekh named Míran, an old servant of Sa'dullah.

Jawáhir 'Alī Khán's, who was ordered to recruit two hundred men. He enlisted that number and appointed three non-commissioned officers, Qásim Khán, Shekh Búlá, and Shekh Sa'dullah. After Háfiz Rahmat Khán's defeat, when the horses of the Afghán stables were carried off as booty, three hundred of them were made over to Jawáhir 'Alī Khán. Jawáhir 'Alī Khán asked the Begam's permission at Baísauli, and mounted those two hundred men on these horses, making them *Charhetas*. This is a Hindi term used

to denote footmen who receive small pay and are mounted on their master's horses for purposes of escort, the master providing the horses with corn and grass. The Nawáb Wazír died on his return to Faizábád. Mukhtáru'ddaulah then, as he entertained a grudge against the Begam, removed these men from Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's control, and posted them to Gorakhpur. After the murder of Mukhtáru'ddaulah, Haidar Beg Khán dismissed these men when he came into power, and sent their horses into the Nawáb's stables. The three non-commissioned officers, when their services were dispensed with, came to Faizábád, and Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali employed them with Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's permission and sent them to Salon. Qásim Khán was a drunkard and his drunkenness led to his dismissal. Búlá Khán ran away. Shekh Sa'dullah remained, but went to Allahábád, his native place, when the jágírs were confiscated. On the occasion of Mr. Hastings' visit, Nawáb Ásafu'ddaulah went to Allahábád to meet him. Here Shekh Sa'dullah and his brother turned out on horseback to salute the Nawáb Wazír, who asked them where they had come from. Shekh Sa'dullah said: "we come from the Dakhan." The Nawáb told his orderly, Ghaugí, to bring them with him. He brought them to Lucknow, where they lost months with him and touched not a penny of pay. The Begam's jágírs were restored about this time and Shekh Sa'dullah left without reporting his departure, came to Faizábád and entered Jawáhir 'Ali Khán's service. He rose after Akhwand Ahmad 'Ali's death, and held command of four hundred foot and fifty cavalry. In Dáráb 'Ali Khán's time he came to hold the farm of Salon, Awadh, and Gondah, and adopted a practice of bailing

landholders and money-lending, and other reprehensible practices, until he at last became proprietor of tents and horses and other signs of wealth. He became so proud that he could not contain himself, and he worried his subordinates and disheartened them to such an extent that they began to seek his overthrow. He was appointed to keep watch and ward at the Bahu Begam's palace and thus attracted her notice, and no one could then venture to oppose him. He kept back something from the pay, perquisites, and rewards of the sepoy's under him, but they kept an account on paper of all that he kept back. A week after the Begam's death four hundred of these sepoy's rose in a body and fell upon him. He managed on some pretence to come to Dáráb 'Ali Khán, and threw himself on the ground. Dáráb 'Ali Khán tried to save him and hid him inside his house. He did his utmost to keep him safe: told off a company of British troops to quell the mutineers, and prepared to render assistance himself with his own force which was more than five hundred strong. This state of tension continued for some days and nights, but the atmosphere gradually cleared up: a claim made by his sons by his first wife for their mother's dowry had been for a long time pending. In this matter also Dáráb 'Ali Khán came to his rescue and protected him.

The base and ungrateful wretch had, immediately after the Bahu Begam's death and before this mutiny of the sepoy's, sent one petition to the Nawáb Wázir and another to A'frín 'Ali Khán, Názim of the Súbah, saying that he possessed the fullest information as to the deceased Begam's treasure; that all her money and property had been under the guard of his men; and that he also knew all the embezzlements of her

property which Dáráb 'Ali Khán had committed: that, as he had been at one time in Shujá'u'ddaulah's service, and had been afterwards appointed to Faizábád by Asaf-u'ddaulah, he would, if he received orders, arrest Dáráb 'Ali Khán and produce him at Lucknow. He was foolish enough to send these petitions to his sons, who were in Lucknow pressing their claim against him. He also sent some gold coins as a present. They at once appropriated the coin and showed the letters to the dismissed sepoy, who had come to Lucknow to seek for employment. They obtained the petitions from him on some pretext and carried them to Dáráb 'Ali Khán, whose eyes were opened to his treachery. He now drove him from his presence and cut him.

Throughout this critical situation Mírza Sháh Mír, nephew and son-in law of Muhammad Taqí Khán, and his followers sided with Dáráb 'Ali Khán, and shared his sleeplessness and anxiety. They worked hard, and endured the same hardships for two days and nights. This cemented a strong friendship between them. The fact became known in the city. After a week a quarrel took place between the nephew and uncle about some family matters; and not merely did they cease to speak to each other, but their several followers carried arms and were prepared to fight. Perhaps some of Dáráb 'Ali Khán's retainers may have been moving about among them watching the game. Anyhow, a servant of the Ághá's came to Dáráb 'Ali Khán and demanded why, when Mírza Sháh Mír was the Ághá's son, Dáráb 'Ali Khán's servants turned out armed to take his part. Dáráb 'Ali Khán sent him back to say that there was some mistake, he knew nothing of this, and even if there had been any one, it was only as a spectator he

had gone; that only a few days before that there had been a dispute between Shekh Sa'dullah and his servants, and hundreds of the Aghá's men had come to his door, saying they had come by their master's order to back the Shekh's servants, yet he had not believed that for a moment nor sent any remonstrance to the Aghá: now why should the Aghá be moved by the tongues of the common people who loved to make mischief; that the affair was one between the Aghá and his son-in law. When Muhammad Taqí Khán heard this reply, he grew doubly enraged, and, although it was after sunset, and it was raining out of season, he set out for Lucknow without even preparing for the journey. His companions and servants started in a hurry and worry some before and some after him. I said to Dáráb 'Ali Khán, when the Aghá was passing close to his house, that it would be only friendly if he went out and stopped him. "Why should I" said Dáráb 'Ali Khán, "go to stop him, when he has several days ago cut me dead?" I could not venture to say more. When the Aghá came near Lucknow, Mr. Strachey, who was coming from Lucknow to take over the Bahu Begam's estate, met him: and he returned with that gentleman to Faizábád. When Mr. Strachey left Faizábád, he too left and went to Lucknow, and he is still living in Lucknow at the date of my writing this history, 1233 A.H. [1818 A.D.].

Two days after the Bahu Begam's death a company of British troops arrived in Faizábád, entered the fort, and mounted guard at the three gates and on the north at the river side. Their arrival had been arranged for. When Mr. Baillie came to Faizábád and the seeds were drawn up, it occurred to Dáráb 'Ali Khán that, as the

Begam was very old, she might die suddenly like the Nawáb Begam, who passed away while bowing in prayer, and Nawáb Yamínu'ddaulah might hurry from Lucknow, post his own troops round the palace, and in places where treasure was kept; that it would be difficult to remove them afterwards and dispute the estate, and the negotiations and contentions which would result would last over years and months, and meanwhile the Begam's dependents would be in straits for want of their allowances and become scattered. Mr. Baillie therefore wrote to the officers commanding British troops in places near Faizábád, such as Sakrora in the north and Sultánpur in the south, telling them that, the moment a camel-trooper came from Dáráb 'Ali Khán to summon them, they were to hurry like lightning or the wind to Faizábád. As the person who had caused all these misgivings had died a year and a-half before, and Nawáb Gházíu'ddín Haidar gave these affairs no thought, there was no need to summon the troops, but as the move had been agreed upon it was carried out. It was necessary to send the camel-trooper and, before undertaking the arrangements for the funeral, Dáráb 'Ali Khán sent him and called in the English troops. The people of the city were accustomed to unmolested quiet, and there were among them many sepoys thrown out of employment. The English soldiers and sepoys committed acts of oppression on passers-by and on shopkeepers for their own convenience. This tyranny was all laid by the people to Dáráb 'Ali Khán's charge, saying that, if he had not sent for the English troops and the Nawáb Wazír's agents had been in the city, there would have been none of this vexatious conduct. They talked wildly, and said all

sorts of things, especially to the sepöys, because they had lost their livelihood, and they did not know^o that when a master dies his servants are dismissed, and that Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán had now no reason for keeping them on.

I pass over the arrival of the Nawáb Wazír's son and Ranzán 'Ali Kẖán in Faizábád, their inquiry into Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán's embezzlements of various kinds, the failure to prove any, the subsequent visit of the Nawáb Wazír's son to Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán's house, the Kẖán's presenting to him trays of valuables, and his return to Lucknow, and the disappointment of those who had charged Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán with embezzlement. It is a long story and I do not think it necessary to narrate it.

The management of the Begam's jágírs remained in Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán's hands. He sent in his resignation three times to the Nawáb Wazír, but it was not accepted. He then addressed Mr. Strachey and begged him to use his influence that the resignation might be accepted. The Resident asked him why he was so anxious to resign, and assured him that, if he distrusted the Nawáb Wazír, he would guarantee to him that nothing irregular would be done nor would any act of bad faith be committed. Dáráb 'Ali Kẖán replied that he had been accustomed to act as the Begam's agent, but he had really been master; that he could not hope to be in the same position now under the Nawáb Wazír, and he did not deem it proper to have to invoke the aid of the English about every little matter that might arise between him and the Nawáb Wazír; that, thanks to the Bahu Begam, he had accumulated enough to suffice for the wants of the short term of life now left

to him, and the Company had also fixed a monthly stipend for him; he wanted nothing more. The Resident was pleased to find him so contented and promised to move in his behalf. When he returned to Lucknow he induced the Nawáb Wazír to accept the resignation.

The Khán now devoted his leisure to the building of the Bahu Begam's tomb and performing the ceremonies of Fátíha and 'Urs, and attending to the lighting of her tomb; and he passed night and day in rigid religious observances, the study of commentaries on the Qurán and of the sayings of the Prophet, and the company of learned men, poets, and masters of every art. He took so great an interest in the surviving servants of the Begam's house and other persons who had a claim on his heart and his thoughts, that in a short time young and old forgot their sorrow for the departure of their great benefactress. He was kind, thoughtful, and affable as he had always been, and answered the roughest with mildness, and struggled to check all anger and ill-temper. He often said that he had now nothing left to wish for in this world but two things: one, to complete the Begam's mausoleum according to her desire: the other, to go to Lucknow once and obtain a private interview with the Nawáb Wazír, that he might once for all assure him of his loyalty and remove from his heart all misimpressions which self-seekers had endeavoured to create. In 1232 A.H. [1817 A.D.] in the month of Rabí'u'sṣāni, when he went to Lucknow to pay his respects to the Governor, he left me behind him, while he returned to Faizábád for some reason, to arrange for his interview with the Nawáb Wazír; but many a wish is doomed to disappointment, and his two wishes were not fulfilled, and

he carried the regret of them to the grave. He had lived to the age of fifty-eight years and had in this span experienced disappointments. In 1214 A.H. [1799 A.D.] he had adopted his younger brother's son, a lad of seven years, circumcised him, arranged for his marriage, placed him under a tutor, and when the youth was in his twelfth year and was affording promise of intelligence and goodness, he caught cold and was carried off by a fever. Some years after he bought several Habshí boys, and he put one of them in the position of the lad who had died and did for him all that he had done for the other. Although this Habshí had not any personal dignity or high bearing, he was grateful to his benefactor and true to his friends. He died in Jamádi, u'ssání of the year 1232 A.H. [1817 A.D.]. There was also Mahbúb 'Ali, a eunuch, with whom Dáráb 'Ali Khán had a warm friendship. He was free and easy-going, and passionately fond of music and singing. He was himself proficient in both, and devoted night and day to these pleasures. If he heard a professional singer sing, or one came to the city, he invited him to his house, profited by his art, and made him presents of money and dress. He became a thorough Bohemian, and thought of nothing else in the world but such occupations. He was an eloquent talker and charmed listeners with his conversation. Several times he left the Begam's darbár without permission, was arrested and brought back, but the Bahá Begam and Dáráb 'Ali Khán never punished him as he deserved. They winked at his misbehaviour. This was altogether owing to his manner, which was irresistibly winning. Withal he was very much afraid of death. Though every one living is dejected at the

prospect of that event, he was so possessed with the horror of it, that if any one by forgetfulness or misadventure uttered the word "death," fear cast its shadow over his heart for days, and hence he was very particular that no one should mention the word in his presence. Here some verses from Názim Hiráti's *Maṣnavi*, "Yúsuf-o-Zulaikhá" have occurred to me, which are very appropriate, and I quote them:—

1.

How sparkling is the ruddy wine
 Of life, its bouquet sweet :
 But most we feel its potent charms*
 When youth and pleasure meet.

2.

Yet in thy youth avoid excess,
 The shame of sober age :
 Time was when pride obscured my mind
 In lust's unbridled rage.

3.

Then virtue fled at my approach
 And vice my presence hailed :
 In me was rooted recklessness
 And callousness prevailed.

4.

No fear had I of wrath of God,
 By royal smiles befooled :
 A thorn a rose, a rose was dew,
 While sense my bosom ruled.

5.

If hap the breath of godliness
 Breathed o'er my fevered head,
 As wine grows pale when it is stale
 With shame my colour fled.

6.

In eager haste of joy to taste
My head was turned with pride :
Men gave me up as one a cup,
When empty, thrusts aside.

7.

In folly's rout my breath blew out
The light that wisdom shed :
With vicious spite I fled from right
On passion's pinion^{ed} sped.

8.

Like lamp alight my heart each night
Glowed by the wine cup fed :
By anguish wrung each morning hung
Upon my breast my head.

9.

If claimed the Book of God my look,
I nothing seeing saw,
For Terror's dart transfixed my heart
Before His holy law.

10.

From house of prayer like lion's lair
I fled inspired with dread :
The chancel seemed a sword that gleamed
O'er my devoted head.

11.

The call to prayer I signal made
To wake the voice of song :
The gurgling wine my orison
In Bacchanalian throng.

12.

If knee I bent, 'twas with intent
To shun the face of God :
If eye I raised, it was to court
My fellow creature's nod.

13.

While bound by Youth's delusive spell
I viewed Old Age with scorn,
Forgetting how my fickle friend
Forsakes both rose and thorn.

14.

Each has his halcyon days of youth,
But Youth is like the night :
When Night our eyes in slumber seals
She takes her stealthy flight.

15.

Youth's dazzling fairness cheats our eyes
Like an enchantress fair :
Like the new moon no sooner seen
Than vanished into air.

16.

I blame not youth, for youth the fire
To poet's song imparts :
Careless and gay in youth—thou art
A wreck when youth departs.

17.

Soon as my days of youth had passed
The world's allurements ceased :
No more was poison bane to me
Nor sweet the dainty feast.

18.

Old Age, life's winter, in his arms
Embracing held me fast,
And shed my pride as leaves are shed
Of trees by wintry blast.

19.

The very smell of wine would now
My feeble brain excite :
Its fumes, as smoke obscures a flame,
Bedim my failing sight.

20.

Shines like the sun my trembling head,
Denuded of its hair :
My limbs are restless as the stars
Revolving in the air.

21.

These lips that loved the wine to drain
My rueful fingers smite :
And heavy downward hangs my head
That erst with wine was light.

22.

My heart that shone a mirror bright
'Ts clouded o'er with dust :
My tongue, a sword once keen of edge,
Corroded is with rust.

23.

Where once a nosegay in my breast
I wore, repentance sits,
And through the warp of life regret
Like weaver's shuttle flits.

24.

My heart a censer is : the flames
Of self-contempt arise :
And when I would that tears might flow,
Its smoke obstructs my eyes.

25.

Deranged the parts that fitted well,
My frame is out of gear :
And out has died the cheerful fire :
Its place is cold and drear.

26.

So thin am I by slow decay
Death will unable be
Without the aid of optic glass
My meagre form to see.

27.

Yet to the world's concerns my heart
So obstinately clings,
That hope will rise beyond the range
Of unexpected things.

28.

When I bethink me I must leave
Some day this garden fair,
I tremble like a naked form
Touched by the wintry air.

29.

Yet blame me not the thought of death
Should cause me such distress;
For now of life I realize
The utter pricelessness.

30.

Some with parade of courage hide
A craven heart beneath:
A potsherd is his heart who shows
A pearl between his teeth.

31.

Anxious on others to impress
He fears not death, not he,
He cannot move his tongue but this
His empty boast must be:

32.

"What's death? 'Tis one if here on earth
Or underneath I am."
But well the wise the secret know:
His courage is a sham.

33.

No patriarch for all his days
But felt his courage fail:
Can I then hope the foe to face
And not with terror quail

34.

If man there be will dare to say :
" I do not fear to die,"
E'en though he drew Messiah's breath,
I call his words a lie.*

35.

What though his lips should feign to sing
The merry roundelay,
The sighs that from his bosom rise
A stricken heart betray.

36.

Come, fill a bowl to cheer my soul ;
Though Death in ambush wait,
And with his dart would strike my heart,
'Twill life anew create.

37.

To smother care and joys repair
A brimming beaker give :
The tide shall rush with kindling blush
And my dry bones shall live.

In the year 1233 A.H. [1818 A.D.] the atmosphere of Lucknow became vitiated and such a stench prevailed that night and day hundreds of corpses were being carried out of every street. Any one who ate rice at night, vomited in the morning and died, and the number of the sick was beyond all computation. After slaying its thousands the pestilence became less severe at Lucknow, and calling in at several villages and towns on its way and preying on their inhabitants, it established itself for a time at Faizábád. When it had slain only two or three, it turned its attention to Mahbúb

* The reading in the M.S. is defective, and that in the copy of the complete poem which I have consulted is doubtful. One possible reading would require me to translate this line : " He cannot God defy ;" but I adhere to the rendering already given on page 259, for the point lies in the fact that Christ prayed that the cup might pass from Him, showing that even He, whom the grave could not keep, shrank from death.

'Ali, and, like a sudden calamity, the enemy, who cannot be diverted by tears or force or money, fell upon him unprepared while wrapt in his music and his songs, and carried him off in a day. Dáráb 'Ali Khán was suffering with a pain in his head when he heard of Mahbúb 'Ali's death, and he said: "Let us see what friends the Simoom will sweep away." His cheerfulness forsook him. He had not recovered from this blow when the enemy laid his hand upon Sulţán 'Ali Khán, his adopted son, who had just returned bringing with him from the west some swift and handsome horses at the cost of several thousands of rupees, and was busy looking after them and feeding his heart with the sight of them morning and evening. The best physicians did their utmost to save him. They sprinkled him with cold water and rose water: but the heat of his body only grew more intense. The poet Sa'di says:—

"Doctors are vain when death is at the door:

"Each tried specific works its wont no more.

"Drastics and binding drugs effects the same

"Produce, and water feeds like oil the flame;"

and the pestilence carried him off after nine or ten days. These two deaths filled Dáráb 'Ali Khán's heart with grief and he grew despondent and indifferent to his own condition. He was too reserved to give voice to his feelings, but those who had their eyes open could see that the sorrow for the loss of these two friends was too deeply seated to pass away.

Two months or so before this an abscess had formed on the upper part of the left side of his chest near the heart. It caused him discomfort. The physicians and surgeons said that there were two courses of

treatment open, either to open the abscess and permit the matter to discharge itself or to reduce it without letting the matter out. Dáráb 'Ali Khán learned that the first would involve great delay and trouble and he ordered them to try the second method. This course was adopted. As the purulent matter wanted an outlet, it now turned inwards, and gradually a difficulty of breathing ensued, accompanied by a slight pain. Although he sometimes complained of the pain, his whole attention was not given to its relief. For a year before this he had had a cough. One evening he was reading a *magnavi* of Maulána Rúm* and he was siezed with so violent a fit of coughing that he could not read. He handed me the book. I said to him that, when he had wealth and physicians were among his servants, he should not neglect his health. He answered with the utmost indifference: "All right, I intend to take a purgative." Then came the news that the Governor was coming from the south and repeated letters came from Panáh 'Ali Beg, the court agent, and from the Resident, pressing him to come to Lucknow and meet him. He had to go, and so he went to Lucknow. He returned, after a stay of six days, to Faizábád and took the purgative. It did him no good. One day in Rajjab 1233 A.H. [1818 A.D.] he coughed very violently and vomited. He put up so much blood that he fainted and people thought he was dying. A stopping of the pulse, coldness of the extremities, absence of signs of respiration, and all the signs of death were observable. Those who saw him despaired of him and began to make a loud noise with their mourning, but he opened his

* Jalálu'ddín Rumi.

eyes, and comforted the mourners. A similar attack occurred two days after, and the amount of blood he put up on these two occasions was in all about four pounds.

It is true, as these two occurrences show, that the thread of life is no stronger than a spider's web, and the world is not more lasting than the creation of a talisman, but the actual experience was coming, and he knew it. He sent for Mír Najaf 'Ali Fázil, in whom dwelt naturally, and not by mere cultivation, all good and pure qualities, the son of his own old tutor, and expressed his repentance, forsook all sins, deadly or venial, and renounced all the evil passions of the human heart. He began to dispense charity and do good works. He gave away gold and silver, clothes, elephants, and horses to the poor and needy. He trusted no one, but gave them away himself, and had the very food he distributed to the poor cooked in his own presence. This continued till the moment he expired. He became so weak that he could not rise or sit down or walk without assistance. He adopted two unusual practices now. One was that he insisted on the continual presence of all his servants and his friends with him. If any of them were absent, even on any urgent necessity for a day or two, he was very displeased, and he dismissed some servants on this account. The other was that he found fault with any one who uttered a word that did not fall in with his ideas. Three or four physicians attended him day and night: and several of his friends came and stayed in the house with him.

While he was in this state, he moved to the Bāgh Dilkushá, which is near the Guptár Ghát overlooking

the river, which he had built and laid out at a cost of sixty thousand rupees. He ordered all his servants, new and old, to come and stay with him there, and said he would dismiss any one who ventured to go home for one moment. He remained seventeen days there and then returned to his house. He sent reports regularly as to his condition to Nawáb Gházíuddín Haidar, and he received kind replies. He was careful to observe the five hours of prayer.

Two or three days before the 'Id of Ramzán the soles of his feet became swollen and he lost all hope and knew that his time was up. He had always said that there was no better thing in the world than charity, and that, as the monthly allowance he drew from the Company was enough for him, he would spend whatever he had saved on the poor. A year before his death I had written a note and handed it to him, citing the Begam as an example, and advising him to follow it and execute a will. He thought over it two or three days and then said to me that once a man dies he has nothing to do with the world; he cannot return, so let happen what will: whatever the Begam did she did to perpetuate her memory, not for any good that it did her. He put the matter off in this fashion, and made no disposition of his property. Throughout his illness, although his bodily strength failed, his mental faculties were unimpaired, and he had control of all his powers, but eventually a blister rose upon his tongue and he began to stutter. On Saturday, the 5th of Shawwál, 1233 A.H. [1818 A.D.] this symptom disappeared in the morning and he seemed to recover. He spoke freely to his friends and they were delighted to notice the improvement in his condition. When I went to visit

him, I noticed this as soon as I came to the door, and I heard him remark to some one that I was late in coming. Mírza Fidá Husen whispered to me that this revival of a person who showed all the signs of death was beyond his comprehension; that people recovered gradually from chronic ailments, and this sudden recovery portended a fatal issue. When I came back in the afternoon, I found that the weakness had returned, even increased, and I was at a loss to comprehend it. His condition remained the same on Sunday. Night came on. About 3 A.M. on Monday the doctors came in. One felt for his pulse and found it in the right hand, after a long interval, weak as a thread. It was wholly imperceptible in the left. He sat down in silence. Another tried his pulse and sat down in silence. Dáráb 'Ali Khán asked him how he was? "All's well, thank God," said he. Mír Murṭaza, who was his regular medical attendant, came and sat down near him. Dáráb 'Ali Khán said to him: "You see how I am. But there is much phlegm in my chest and I am so weak I cannot cough it up. You must try and afford me some relief." To this his physician replied: "You must now look to God. Your case is beyond medical relief; all that we can do has been done." When he heard this sentence, he sent for Mír Akbar 'Ali, his treasurer. His intention had been ever since he had been seized with this illness to divide out a lak of rupees among his servants and do what he pleased with the rest of his money. On Saturday, the 5th Shawwál, when he first experienced some relief, he sent for Munshi Subhán 'Ali Khán, and drew up a list of servants and dependents and allotted them various gratuities, and he intended to send this to the Resident at Lucknow: but when he

remembered that the Begam's servants and dependents had left Faizábád and become scattered notwithstanding the provision she had made for them, he tore up the paper or left it with the Munshi. He then drew up a document and forwarded it to the Resident at Lucknow, to the effect that his savings, to an amount which he specified, were to be invested with the Company as trustees; that his brother Rájá Bodh Singh was to draw the interest, and he bequeathed to his brother his monthly allowance of four thousand rupees and all the rest of his estate, from which he was to maintain his servants, with complete power to allot allowances and to retain or cut off whom he pleased. When he sent for Mír Akbar 'Ali, he called for money and divided it out among his attendants. As it was then about 3 A.M., many were absent, and so some got their share and some did not. They say that a scramble took place, and whatever any one could grab he took, as if it were his father's property he was carrying off. In the morning Mír Nawáb Fázil began to read the Qurán and Dáráb 'Ali Khán told him to read only the Súrrah Yásín and then he stopped him. About 8 A.M. of that day, Monday, the 7th Shawwál 1233 A.H. [1818 A.D.] he asked for food. He ate more than usual, and lay down: then turned over and died.

As eunuchs have no heirs, and in this case the mistress was dead who had cared for him, and all present were his subordinates, there was no one to undertake the arrangements for his interment. As long as the breath was in his body all hung round him and obeyed his order, but, the moment he expired, they fled, and Mír Sajjád 'Ali Fázil and Mír Nawáb Fázil were

left sitting alone at the head of his bed with the Qurán in their hands.

Mír Akbar 'Ali, who had the custody of the wardrobe, the treasure, and the seals, had secretly made all the necessary preparations, but, before the corpse could be removed, a crowd of gaping spectators, court servants, policemen, and messengers of the English intelligence department, rushed in, shoes and all, and soiled the carpets and floorcloths, as if the place belonged to them, and they excluded us, the old friends of the deceased. At last the corpse was brought out and we buried it in the Imámbára, in the middle of the hall, beside Jawábir 'Ali Khán's remains. The crowd then dispersed.

Mír Akbar 'Ali carried the corpse in state from the river to the Imámbára, scattered money for the poor, stretched a gold-embroidered canopy above the grave, and covered the grave with a flowered sheet, appointed Qurán-readers, and distributed food, according to the custom of Hindústán, on the Third, Tenth, Twentieth and Fortieth days after. But, as the Company had taken over the estate of the deceased, he could not perform all these ceremonies on the scale which his heart would have desired.

I must stop now, as the disputes which followed his death have not yet come to an end. If I continue in the full enjoyment of my bodily and mental faculties, I shall resume this history when those disputes are ended.

THE END.

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